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André Bareau Eric Cheetham Lance Cousine
J.W. de Jong Hubert Durt K.R. Norman
G.C. Pande Peter Skilling Paul Williams

Editor: Russell Webb

Assistant Editor: Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Editorial address: c/o R. Webb, 15 Stedham Chambers, Coptic
Street, London WC1A 1NL - England

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BUDDHIST STUDIES REVIEW

Vol.3, No.1

1986

UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter VI

ŚĪLAVARGA - Morality

1. The prudent man practises morality if he desires the three
happineses : honour, riches and the joys of heaven after
death.
2. Contemplating these (four) conditions, the wise man will
practise morality: noble and endowed with perception, he
obtains happiness in this world.
3. Happiness, the acquisition of morality: his body does not
overheat; in happiness, he sleeps at night and delights
on awakening.
4. Practising morality until old-age is excellent; firm faith
is excellent; for men wisdom is a meritorious treasure unseiz-
able by thieves.
5. The wise man who performs meritorious actions, the moral
man who gives alms obtains happiness in this world and the
other.
6. The monk is firm in morality, master of his senses, moderate
in his food and adhering to mindfulness.
7. Living thus, vigorous and indefatigable night and day, he
is no longer exposed to suffering; he is very near Nirvāṇa.
8. Firm in morality, the monk develops his mind and wisdom;
vigorous and prudent, he will obtain the cessation of suffer-
ing for ever.
9. May one practise morality without respite; may one devote
oneself to concentration; conscientious in insight and study.
10. The wise man dissolves the bonds, he is free of pride and
free of attachment: after the destruction of the body,
he does not undergo countless births but attains Nirvāṇa.
11. He in whom morality, concentration and wisdom are well deve-
loped, is perfected, pure, happy and puts an end to existence.

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12. Delivered from the bonds, free of desires, fully comprehending, free of attachment, he is beyond the realm of Māra and shines like the sun.
13. In an arrogant and shallow monk, whose mind is directed to external matters, morality, concentration and wisdom do not attain perfection.
14. Rain penetrates what is covered, not what is uncovered; it is therefore necessary to uncover what is covered so that the rain cannot penetrate.*
15. Having seen that, the wise man should practise morality constantly; very quickly will he purify the path which leads to Nirvāṇa.
16. The perfume of flowers does not travel against the wind, neither that of the day-tagara, nor that of sandalwood; conversely, the perfume of worthy people travels against the wind; the worthy man exhales on all sides of the horizon.
17. Be it tagara, sandalwood, jasmin or lotus, the perfume of morality transcends the whole variety of such perfumes.
18. Of little account is the perfume of the tagara and sandalwood; but the perfume exhaled by worthy people reaches the gods.
19. Pure and moral men, who refrain from frivolity and are freed by perfect comprehension, Māra cannot outwit.
20. This is the path of safety, this is the path of purification; those who have taken the initiative and devote themselves to meditation will cast off the bonds of Māra.

* [Ed.] The commentarial story alludes to a miraculous occasion on which rain did not penetrate the only house without a roof in a village. Here rain represents the mist of ignorance which cannot permeate a mind the cover (roof) of which no longer obscures the Four Noble Truths.

(Translated by Sara Boiv-Webb from the French of N.P. Chakravarti)

ĀRYABHĀVASAMKRĀNTINĀMAMAHĀYĀNASŪTRA

THE NOBLE SŪTRA ON THE PASSAGE THROUGH EXISTENCES

Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti

Introduction

The text of the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra

The original Sanskrit text of the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra has not been preserved. There exist three Chinese translations of it, Taishō 575, 576 and 577 (Nanjio 285, 284 and 526 respectively; *Répertoire*, p.61), which were respectively done by Bodhiruci (who lived in China between 508 and 537), Buddhasānta (who worked in China between 525 and 539) and I Ching (635-713). There is also a Tibetan translation, Tōhoku 226, Catalogue 892, due to Jinamitra, Dñasāṅga and Ye-śes sde.

Several fragments from the Sanskrit text are extant either in the form of quotations or included in other texts, in both cases with slightly different readings. See notes 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 29, 34, 36.

Modern editions and translations of the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra

N. Aiyaswami Sastri in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. V, No. 4, 1931, pp. 246-60 : it contains the edition of the Tibetan text according to the Narthang recension, a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text on the basis of the Tibetan text and an English translation.

G. Stramigioli, 'Bhavasamkrānti' in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome, XVI, 1936, pp. 294-306 : it contains the editions of the Tibetan text from a manuscript from the Tōlung monastery; this manuscript dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century and is probably a copy of an older one from the tenth-eleventh centuries. Together with the Tibetan text, this article contains an Italian translation from the Tibetan and another from the Chinese text.

N. Aiyaswami Sastri, *Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bha-*

vasaṅkrānti Śāstra with the Commentary of Haireyanātha, Madras, 1938 (Adyar Library) : it contains a Sanskrit reconstruction on the basis of the Tibetan and Chinese translations, an edition of the Tibetan text according to the Narthang recension, compared with the Peking one, and an English version of the Tibetan and Chinese translations.

C. Dragonetti, *Bhavasamkrāntisūtra*, Buenos Aires, Centro de Investigaciones Filosóficas, In the Series Textos sánkritos, tibetanos y chinos del Budismo Mahāyāna, 1977 : it contains the Tibetan text on the basis of Stramiolli's edition, the text of the Sanskrit quotations and a Spanish translation of the Tibetan version.

F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, 'Bhavasamkrāntisūtra' in *Budismo Mahāyāna*, Buenos Aires (Kier), 1980, pp.19-36 : it contains a new Spanish translation on the basis of Aiyaswami Sastri's edition already mentioned.

Form and constitution of the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra's text

Under the name of Bhavasamkrānti there exists two different Buddhist works : 1. the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra, to which we have referred, attributed to the Lord Buddha, and 2. the Bhavasamkrānti, a śāstra attributed to Nāgārjuna¹, the original Sanskrit text of which has not been preserved and which is known only thanks to its three Tibetan versions (Tōhoku 3840, 4162 and 4558, Catalogue 5240, 5662 and 5472), and its Chinese version (Taishō 1574, Nanjio 1305, Répertoire, p.134).

The Bhavasamkrāntisūtra contains, in its Tibetan and Chinese versions, a part written in prose and a part written in verse. The Bhavasamkrānti, attributed to Nāgārjuna, is a short treatise of 16, 19 or 21 stanzas according to its different recensions. Both works have in common several of the stanzas : 1 = 11, 3c, d and 4 = 12; 5 = 13; 6 = 14; 7 = 15.

How to explain the presence of common stanzas in the Sūtra and in the brief treatise attributed to Nāgārjuna? We think that the original Sūtra was constituted only by the part in prose, which deals with the passage from one existence to another. Thus there was perfect agreement between the subject and the title of the work. Afterwards, to the prose part were added the stanzas that deal with the "voidness" of everything, which

constitutes the principal thesis of the Madhyamaka school. Some of these stanzas were taken from Nāgārjuna's treatise. This addition was done by some author of the Madhyamaka school with the desire to establish a closer connection between the Sūtra and the school. In the same way, another author of the same school replaced the proper beginning and end of the Śālistambasūtra by a beginning and end which connected the Śālistambasūtra with the Madhyamaka school, transforming it into the Madhyamaka-Śālistambasūtram². This addition obviously took place before 500 A.C., by which date the first translation into Chinese was made, since the Chinese (and Tibetan) translators knew the Sanskrit text with its addition, in the same form in which we have received it.

In this way, it is possible to explain the lack of agreement between the title of the Sūtra and its subject matter and between the prose section and the verse section.

Location of the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra in Buddhist literature

The titles of two of the Chinese versions (Taishō 757, Ta fang têng hsiu to lo wang ching, and Taishō 577, Ta ch'êng liu chuan chu yu ching) induce us to think that this Sūtra was considered to be a Mahāyāna sūtra by its Chinese translators. The Tibetan version (Tōhoku 266 and Catalogue 982, Hphags-pa srid-pa hpho-ba śes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-pohi mdo) considers it also as a sūtra of the Mahāyāna. The ninth-century Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary, the Mahāvvyutpatti, sub 1379, mentions it among the ancient sūtras of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Finally, Mahāyānist authors such as Asaṅga (in Bodhisattvabhūmi), Candrakīrti (in Prasannapadā and Madhyamakāvastāra), Śāntideva (in Śikṣasamuccaya), Prajñākaramati (in Pañjikā), Haribhadra (in Āloka) and Śāntarakṣita (in Tatvasaṅgraha) quote it *in extenso*³.

As it has come down to us, the Bhavasamkrānti can in fact be considered as an independent sūtra of Mahāyāna Buddhism and one of the sūtras that could enjoy preference by the Madhyamaka school, since in the prose section and especially the verse section the doctrine of emptiness is dealt with.

Doctrinal contents of the Bhavasamkrānti

In relation to its contents, the Bhavasamkrānti comprises two

well differentiated parts. In the first, which corresponds to the prose section, the themes dealt with are, on the one hand, the reappearance of actions in the mind at the moment of death and, on the other, the passage through (*samkrānti*) existences (*bhava*). Of these two themes it is the second one which gives the Sūtra its title. The theme dealt with in the second part, which corresponds to the verse section, is the theory of *śūnyatā* "emptiness"⁴.

The reappearance of actions

The question which King Bimbisāra of Magadha puts to the Lord Buddha and which initiates the dialogue between both is : How do actions, which a man performs during his life and which disappear as soon as they are performed, manifest themselves again in his mind at the moment of his death? The Lord Buddha answers that the reappearance of past actions occurs in the same way as the image of a beautiful woman, whom a man sees in his dreams and who is completely non-existent, reappears in the mind of that man. Thus the Lord Buddha accepts the reappearance of past actions in the mind of the dying man and presents as support for its possibility the similar case of the recollection of a dream. Then the Lord Buddha compares the man who attaches himself to agreeable forms he perceives to the man who feels love for the beautiful woman he has seen in his dream.

However, the Lord Buddha does not explain the purpose of actions reappearing in the mind at the moment of death and the reason they do so. We think that the answers to both questions have to do with the doctrine of karma. Probably past actions (of course as recollections or ideas) reappear in the mind of the dying man in order to determine the new existence, which is about to begin in the series of rebirths that corresponds to the dying man. This explanation relates to the belief that the last thoughts of a dying man are decisive in determining the rebirth he will have after his death. This belief is valid as much in Hinduism as in Buddhism⁵. And actions reappear by virtue of the inherent force of karma.

The mechanism of "transmigration"

Without any doubt this theme constitutes the most interesting

of the Sūtra. In the next paragraphs, we expound the mechanism of "transmigration" or "passing through" according to the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra, which is in agreement with general Buddhist doctrine regarding this point⁶.

There is no entity (soul, *pudgala*, spirit, consciousness, *dharmā*) which passes from one existence to another⁷. This is the orthodox position, accepted by the majority of Buddhist schools with the exception of the Vātsīputriyas (and other schools which sprang from the Vātsīputriyas). This school postulated the existence of a *pudgala* which, based on the *skandhas*, passed from one existence to another⁸.

From the Buddhist point of view, there is no single consciousness which exists during the whole life but a series or succession of consciousnesses or conscious states that follow one another related by the law of causality. This "consciousness stream" (*viññāna-srotas*) which constitutes the individual comes from beginningless eternity⁹, and does not stop with death if the individual who dies has accomplished during his life actions having as a consequence a new rebirth. In this case, one of those consciousnesses comes to be the "last consciousness" (*cāramam viññānam*), not of the series but of a section of that series. That section is conceived as a life or an existence. The following consciousness, related to the previous one by the law of causality and belonging to the same consciousnesses series, comes to be the "first consciousness" (*prathamam viññānam*) of a new section of that series. This new section is conceived as a new life or existence. The cessation of the "last consciousness" and the arising of the "first consciousness" are simultaneous, like the going up and going down of the arms of a balance. The "last consciousness" is conceived as death, the "first consciousness" as birth.

The relation between the "last consciousness" of a section (existence) of the series and the "first consciousness" of the next section (existence) of the series is the same that exists, in any life's course, between any conscious state and the next one, with the following differences : in the case of the passage from one section (existence) of the series to the next section (existence) of it, together with the "last consciousness" there

is the destruction of the material component (body) belonging to the finishing section (existence); and together with the "first consciousness" there is also the birth of a new material component (body) belonging to the new beginning section (existence). The "first consciousness" and those which follow, related to it by the law of causality and all belonging to the same series, are not accompanied by the memory of experiences undergone in the previous sections (existences) of the series¹⁰. There is only one consciousness series which, as we have already said, comes from eternity and will flow on until it is cut off by the practice of Buddhist moral and intellectual principles, but the destruction of the material component (body) of each section (existence) of the series and the disappearance of the memories of experiences undergone in the previous sections (existences) of the series conceal the series' continuity and produce the belief in the existence of individuals who are born without any connection with anybody in the past, without any connection with anybody in the future. This was not the Lord Buddha's case¹¹. He knew, thanks to his great spiritual development, to which individuals of the past he was related, by the fact that they all belonged to the same consciousness-series - as an old man knows to which child, of sixty or seventy years before, he is related by the fact that both belong to the same consciousness-series.

In this way, this brief and valuable Sūtra harmonizes two important Buddhist principles, the "transmigration" and the non-existence of a permanent and eternal ego, giving a simple, subtle and elegant solution to the paradox of a "transmigration" without a "transmigrator"; and, eliminating an apparent contradiction, allows a more profound insight into the vast treasure of spiritual riches that is Buddhism.

As regards the problem of the birth of the body, the present Sūtra affirms only that the first consciousness of the new existence arises in a new body, which can be that of a god, a man, a demon or an animal.

It is the Śālistambasūtra¹² which explains how the birth of a new body takes place. The body is not the work of a creator, neither is it due to chance, nor does it come forth out of nothing.

The new body, its nature and qualities are the product of the conjunction of a series of causes and necessary conditions: the union of the father and mother, appropriate womb, opportune moment, material elements, the first consciousness, previous existences, etc. The new body is produced and the new consciousness, which participates in its production, arises in it, and not in another body, only and exclusively because all the factors mentioned determine it to do so. The birth of a new body and the arising in it of the first consciousness are an example of the prime importance that the concept of causality has in Buddhism: "everything has a cause", "everything produces effects", "when the cause is eliminated, its effects are also eliminated".

Emptiness¹³

The last theme dealt with in this Sūtra is the thesis of emptiness or "voidness" (śūnyavāda) and its implications: all things are "void", lacking an own being, insubstantial, non-existent in *se et per se*; they are only creations of the human mind, products of imagination, and as such they do not really exist: they are only names conventionally established, behind which there is not the thing they designate. The same mind, the same imagination, that creates the false empirical reality in which we move, is also "void", it does not really exist. The image of empirical reality created by our minds conceals from us the true nature, the true way of being - voidness, illusion - of empirical reality. So what we see is called "Conventional Reality" or "Reality of Convention".

Text employed for the present translation

For the translation we present in this article, we have used the Tibetan text of the Sde-dge edition (photocopies provided by Harvard Yenching Institute, Harvard University): Bkaḥ-rgyur, Mdo-sde, Dsa. 175 a 6 - 177 a 3.

In some places, which we now indicate, we have adopted a different reading:

175 b 4 (end of the line): *chud mi ḥdzaḥ bar ḥdhaḥ da* : Sas-tri's edition; Sde-dge: *chab mi ḥtshal bar ḡdhaḥ*.

176 a 3 (middle of the line): *ḡgaḡ pa na* : Sas-tri's and Stra-

migiolli's editions: Sde-dge : *hgag pa ni*.

176 b 3 (middle of the line) : *mñon pa* : our correction; Sde-dge : *mñon pahā*. Cf. 176 a 7 (beginning of the line).

Translation

THE NOBLE SŪTRA OF THE MAHĀYĀNA DENOMINATED

"THE PASSAGE THROUGH EXISTENCES"

(175 a 6) Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Thus have I heard. Once the Bhagavant stayed in Rājagṛha, in the Bamboo-Forest, in the place of the Kalandakas¹⁴, in the company of a group of one thousand two hundred and fifty bhikṣus and of very numerous great Bodhisattvas. Then, the Bhagavant (175 b), while he was surrounded by many hundreds of thousands of his followers, looking at them, expounded the Dharma (Doctrine) and expounded in its integrity the Brahmācārya (Religious Life) beautiful in its beginning, beautiful in its middle, beautiful in its end, fair in its meaning, fair in its expression, without confusion, completely fulfilled, completely pure, completely immaculate.

Then Śreṇiṃyā Bimbisāra, King of the Magadha country, going out from the great town of Rājagṛha, with great royal pomp, with a great royal force, went to the Bamboo-Forest where the Bhagavant was. On arriving, after bowing down at the feet of the Bhagavant and turning (around the Bhagavant) the right side towards him three times, Śreṇiṃyā Bimbisāra, King of the Magadha country, spoke thus to the Bhagavant : "O Bhagavant, how do actions, (a long time) after having been done (and) accumulated¹⁵, a long time after having ceased, (re)appear in the mind, on being near the moment of death? All conditioned things (*samskāra*)¹⁶ being void, how do actions pass without being annihilated?"

So (the King) spoke, and the Bhagavant to Śreṇiṃyā Bimbisāra, King of the Magadha country, said thus : "O great King¹⁷, just as for instance a man, in a dream he has while sleeping, dreams that he extremely enjoys himself with a beautiful woman of his country and, when he awakes from his sleep, remembers that beautiful woman of his country (he has seen in his dream) - what do you think, O great King : does that beautiful woman of the country,

(seen) in the dream, (really) exist?"

(The King) said : "O Bhagavant, she does not exist."

The Bhagavant said : "O great King, what do you think : that man who ardently desires the beautiful woman of his country, (seen) in his dream - is he a wise man?"

(The King) answered : "O Bhagavant, he is not - if it is asked why, O Bhagavant - because that beautiful woman of the country, (seen) in the dream, does not exist at all; and (176 a) although he does not perceive her, (nevertheless) he goes on thinking of enjoying himself extremely with her. Thus that man, being deprived of her, has a destiny of sorrow."

The Bhagavant said¹⁸ : "O great King, in the same way, an ordinary man, foolish, ignorant, on seeing with his eyes lovely forms, ardently desires those forms which are agreeable to his mind. While ardently desiring them, he becomes attached to them. On becoming attached to them, he feels a passion for them. On feeling a passion for them, he performs with his body, speech and mind, actions that are born out of desire, hatred and error. And those actions, after having been performed, cease. And after having ceased, (those actions) stay neither in the east nor in the south nor in the west nor in the north nor up nor down - nor in any region of space. But, at any other time, at the moment near the instant of death, when the karma¹⁹ corresponding (to the life that is being concluded) is exhausted, at the (very) moment the last consciousness ceases, those actions (re)appear in the mind (of the dying man) - just as for instance the beautiful woman of the country (in the mind) of the man that wakes from his sleep. O great King, thus, on the last consciousness ceasing, the first consciousness, which forms part of the (new) birth, arises either in a god or a man or an asura²⁰ or an infernal being or an animal or a preta²¹. O great King, immediately after the first consciousness has ceased, there arises the series of consciousnesses, which corresponds (to the life that is beginning), and in which the ripening (of actions previously performed) will be experienced. O great King, although no element of existence (*dharma*)²² passes from this world to another world, nevertheless death and birth take place. O great King, the last consciousness which ceases (176 b) is called "death": the first consciousness

which arises is called "birth". O great King, the last consciousness, at the moment it ceases, does not pass to anywhere; the first consciousness, which forms part of the (new) birth, at the moment it arises, does not come from anywhere. If it is asked why, (I answer :) because of their lack of an own being. O great King, although the last consciousness is void (of the own being) of a last consciousness, death is void (of the own being) of death, action is void (of the own being) of action, the first consciousness is void (of the own being) of a first consciousness, birth is void (of the own being) of birth, (nevertheless) actions do not perish. O great King, immediately after the first consciousness, which forms part of the (new) birth, has ceased, there arises without interruption the series of consciousnesses, in which the ripening (of actions previously done) will be experienced."

Thus said the Bhagavān. Having spoken thus, the Master said again in this way :

- (176 b 4) 1. "All things are only names"²³,
they exist only in the mind;
separated from the word
what the word designates does not exist²⁴.
2. Any element of existence (*dharma*)
can be designated by any name²⁵;
that (= the element of existence)
does not exist in this (= the name)²⁶ :
this is the essence (*dharma*)²⁷
of the elements of existence (*dharma*)²⁷.
3. The name is void (of the own being) of a name;
the name as a name does not exist;
all the elements of existence,
lacking (in reality) a name,
have been designated by names²⁸.
4. Since these elements of existence do not exist,
they arise completely from imagination;
the same imagination,
by which they are imagined as void,
does not exist here²⁹.

5. What a man, who sees correctly, says :
'The eye sees the forms'³⁰ -
that, in this world dominated by the evil of error,
has been called 'Conventional Truth' (*saṃvṛtisatya*)³¹.
6. What the Guide³² has correctly taught :
'Vision arises by virtue of a conglomerate'³³ -
that by the Wise³² has been called
'The ground of access to Supreme Truth'³⁴.
7. The eye sees no form,
the mind knows no idea (*dharma*)³⁵ -
this is the Supreme Truth (*paramārthasatya*)
into which the world does not penetrate³⁶."

(177 a 1) The Bhagavān having spoken thus, Śrēṇiya Bimbisāra, King of the Magadha country, and the Bodhisattvas, and the bhikkhus, and the world with the gods, men, asuras and heavenly musicians (*gandharva*) were pleased and greatly praised what the Bhagavān had said.

(Here) ends the Noble Sūtra of the Mahāyāna denominated :
"Passage through existences".

Notes

¹ Very probably this treatise was not written by Nāgārjuna. D. Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden (O. Harrassowitz) 1981, p.29, n.64, thinks that it is probable that this treatise may not be by Nāgārjuna but by a later author. Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, Copenhagen (Akademisk Forlag) 1982, considers this treatise to be one of the "dubious texts", "perhaps authentic".

This treatise was included by N. Ariyasami Sastri in his edition of the Bhavaśāṅkrānti Sūtra already mentioned (Tib. text, Skt. reconstruction and Engl. transl.). C. Dragonetti, *Bhavaśāṅkrāntiparikathā de Nāgārjuna*, Buenos Aires (Centro de Investigaciones Filosóficas) 1977, edited the Tibetan text with a Spanish translation. In F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, *Budismo Mahāyāna, Estudios y Textos*, Buenos Aires (Kier) 1980, pp.102-23, a Spanish translation is included.

² This text has been edited by V.V. Gokhale in P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Mahāyāna-*

Sūtra-Saṃgraha, Darbhanga (The Mithila Institute) 1961, pp.107-16.

³ See notes 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 34, 36 for these quotations.

⁴ In the last part of the prose section of the text there is a brief reference to the doctrine of voidness.

⁵ See M. von Glasenapp, *Immortality and Salvation in Indian Religions*, Calcutta (Susil Gupta) 1963, p.50, and J.P. McDermott, 'Karma and Rebirth in Early Buddhism' in W.D. O'Flaherty, *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, Delhi (Motilal Banarsidass) 1983, pp.177-8.

⁶ In the following exposition, we also take account of the Śālistambasūtra.

⁷ On the principal that 'no dharma (see n.22) passes from this world to another world', expressed in the Bhavasamkrāntisūtra (end of the prose section) and Śālistambasūtra, p.4 (Skt. reconstruction), and p.69 (Tib. text), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri; see also Pratītyasamutpādhārdayākīrṇīkā, attributed to Nāgārjuna, st. 5 and commentary (in Skt. and Tib.) ad locum; Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, III, 18.

⁸ On the Vātsīputrīyas, see N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta (Mukhopadhyay) 1970, pp.194-223; A. Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Seison (École Française d'Extrême Orient) 1955, pp.114-26; Thich Thien Chau, 'The Literature of the Pūṣṭalavādins' in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol.7, No.1, 1984, pp.7-16.

⁹ Cf. F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, 'Anāditva or beginninglessness in Indian Philosophy' in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 61, 1980, pp.1-20.

¹⁰ On the recollection of previous births, cf. F. Demiéville, 'Sur la mémoire des existences antérieures' in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 27, 1928, pp.283-98; G. Schopen, 'The Generalization of an Old Yogic Attainment in Medieval Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature: Some notes on Jāṭismara' in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol.6, No.1, 1983, pp.109-47.

¹¹ The recollection by the Lord Buddha of his previous existences is referred to for instance in the Jātakas.

¹² The original Sanskrit text of this Sūtra, which is lost, has been restored with the help of extensive quotations by Candrakīrti (*Prasannapadā*), Prajñākara-

mati (Pañjikā), Śāntideva (Śikṣasamuccaya) and Yaśomitra (*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*). It is also quoted by Vācaspatiśiṣṭa (Bhāmāṭī) and Mādhyava (*Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, Chapter on the Buddha's Doctrine). It was edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin, N. Aiyaswami Sastri and P.L. Vaidya. C. Dragonetti, *Śālistambasūtra*, Buenos Aires (Centro de Investigaciones Filosóficas) 1977, edited the Sanskrit text of this Sūtra (as preserved in the quotations) together with a Spanish translation. In F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, *Budismo Mahāyāna* (already quoted), pp.37-62, a Spanish translation is included.

¹³ On the concept of emptiness as developed by Nāgārjuna, cf. F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, 'Nāgārjuna's conception of "Voidness" (Śūnyatā)' in *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.9, No.3, 1981, pp.273-82; C. Dragonetti, 'An Indian Philosophy of Universal Contingency' in S.R. Bhatt (ed.), *Glimpses of Buddhist Thought and Culture, Key-note Addresses and Papers*, First International Conference on Buddhism and National Cultures, New Delhi 1984. Both with Bibliography.

¹⁴ According to Pāli sources, this place was called "Kalandakanivāpa" and in it food was given to squirrels. In the Tibetan text, its name is Kalandakagmaspa, "the place of the Kalandakas" (*Kalandakanivāsa*). Cf. G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London (P.T.S.), 1960, I, p.534. According to Tibetan sources, the word kalantaka (for *kalandaka*) designated some kind of bird. Cf. W.W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, reprint, San Francisco (Chinese Materials Center) 1976, pp.43-4.

¹⁵ Two things happen with actions: 1. after having been performed, they disappear, but remain accumulated in a latent potential form somewhere (the text does not say where); at the moment of death they reappear in the mind, i.e. they are remembered (as actually happens with many dying people); and 2. actions leave behind themselves the "seeds" (bīja) of good or bad effects; they are the deferred effects of actions, which exist alongside their immediate effects. These deferred effects remain in a latent, potential form somewhere and are actualized in a new existence, giving rise to good or bad experiences which are the reward or punishment of the actions previously performed. See n.19.

¹⁶ Of the several meanings of the word saṃskāra (*ḥḍu* byed in the Tibetan version) we think the most appropriate in the present context is "conditioned thing". Actions are "void", i.e. do not have an own being, do not exist in se et per se, as they require for their existence the presence of many causes and conditions. And what is conditioned is unreal; like a mirage, it does not exist.

17 The Tibetan text (175 b 5 middle of the line - 176 b 3 beginning), corresponding to the English translation from "O great King..." up to "...actions do not perish", is quoted in Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, pp.127, 1.17 - 129, 1.17, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin. This last work is extant only in Tibetan. The quoted text is expressly attributed to the *Bhavasamkrāntisūtra*.

18 The original Sanskrit text, corresponding to the Tibetan text 176 a 1 middle - 176 b 3 end, and to the English translation from "The Bhagavant..." up to "...the ripening (of actions previously done) will be experienced", has been preserved in a quotation by Prajñākaramati, *Pañjikā*, pp.224, 1.20 - 225, 1.8, ed. P.L. Vaidya. The quoted fragment is attributed to the *Pitāputrasamāgamaśūtra*. It is also quoted by Śāntideva, *Śikṣasamuccaya*, pp.252, 1.3 - 253, 1.13, ed. C. Bendall, without any indication of its provenance.

19 The word karma designates here, on the one hand, the totality of actions performed by a man in his present and past existences and, on the other, more precisely, the totality of deferred effects of those actions. So long as a man performs actions which leave deferred effects, and so long as deferred effects exist, man has to be reborn. Buddhism teaches the way of behaving that does not give rise to new deferred effects and destroys already existing ones. That part of the totality of karma, of the deferred effects to be actualized in any existence, is the karma corresponding to that existence. See n.15.

20 Enemy of the gods.

21 Spirit of dead persons.

22 On dharmas, elements or factors of whatever exists, see F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, "La doctrina de los dharmas en el Budismo" in *Yoga y Mística de la India*, Buenos Aires (Kier) 1978, pp.91-121.

23 The thing "cat" does not exist; "car" is only a word which designates a conglomerate of pieces (axle, wheels, steering-wheel, etc.); things, being only words, exist only in the mind.

24 The Sanskrit text of this stanza is quoted by Haribhadra, *Āloka*, p.294, lines 23-24, ed. P.L. Vaidya. Cf. *Lankāvatārasūtra*, III, 78, p.76, lines 5-6, ed. P.L. Vaidya. In both texts the stanza is quoted without any indication of its provenance. Besides that, the stanza is partly quoted in the *Acintyaśrava*, 35, a hymn attributed to Nāgārjuna, as having been said by the Lord

Buddha. Cf. F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, "Nāgārjuna's Catuṣṭava" in *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.13, 1985, p.17.

25 Any element of existence can be designated by any name, since there is not an essential and permanent relation between words and the things they designate: words are mere conventional denominations.

26 There is no identity between the word and the thing it designates.

27 Quoted by Asaṅga, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p.33, lines 1-2, ed. N. Dutt, expressly attributed to the *Bhavasamkrāntisūtra*; by Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Vol.I, p.15, lines 13-14, and Vol.I, p.339, last two lines, ed. D. Shastri, Varanasi, 1968, without any indication of provenance.

28 Quoted by Śāntideva, *Śikṣasamuccaya*, p.241, lines 13-14, ed. C. Bendall, attributed to Lokanātha (*Vyākaraṇa*).

29 Quoted by Prajñākaramati, *Pañjikā* ad IX, 141, p.267, lines 27-28, ed. P.L. Vaidya, without any indication of provenance; included in Nāgārjuna's *Acintyaśrava* 36. Cf. *Lankāvatārasūtra* X, 10, p.107, lines 21-22, ed. P.L. Vaidya.

30 It is an error to think that the eye sees a form, since the only thing in front of it is a mere conglomerate of dharmas, parts or atoms, which it erroneously grasps as something unitary and compact. Cf. F. Tola and C. Dragonetti, "Dignāga's Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti" in *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.10, 1982, pp.109-10.

31 "Conventional Truth" or "Relative Reality" (*samvṛtisatya*; in Tib. *kun rdzob bden pa*) is empirical reality in its totality. Empirical reality is only a mere creation of our mind; it is superimposed upon True Reality; it "envelops" or "conceals" True Reality; it is in fact True Reality wrongly perceived or conceived. And in turn, True Reality is only the true way of being, the true nature of empirical reality - voidness.

32 The Lord Buddha.

33 Vision takes place thanks to the cooperation of a series of factors such as the object seen, the light, the eye, consciousness, etc., and the object is only a conglomerate of dharmas.

34 To know that we have to do only with conglomerates, that these conglomerates do not exist as they appear before us, that the parts of the conglomerates in their own turn can be analyzed into their sub-parts and so on, in an analy-

tical and abolishing process that leads us to "voidness" - this knowledge is the means to introduce ourselves into the Supreme Truth, into the True Reality of things.

Stanza 6 is quoted by Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā* ad III, 8, p.46, lines 12-13, ed. P.L. Vaidya, and attributed to the Lord Buddha.

³⁵ In truth there is not an eye existing in se et per se, which sees forms existing in se et per se, nor a mind existing in se et per se, which knows mental creations, ideas existing in se et per se. The only thing we have is an eye and a mind, conditioned, composed of elements, and as such unreal, which perceives forms and dharma which are equally conditioned, composed and unreal.

³⁶ For our translation of *dpogs*, see Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

Stanza 7 is quoted by Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā* ad III, 8, p.46 lines 10-11, ed. P.L. Vaidya, and attributed to the Lord Buddha.

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Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti
(Seminario de Indología, Centro
de Investigaciones Filosóficas,
Buenos Aires)

ON THE FORMATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXTS OF THE CHINESE ĀGAMAS

Fumio Enomoto

I

For studies of Early Buddhism, the Chinese Āgamas furnish us with materials no less important than the Pāli Nikāyas and the fragments of the Sanskrit Āgamas. The present paper intends to discuss several questions about the formation of the original texts of the Chinese Āgamas, especially the Chinese Madhyamāgama (*Chung a han ching*)¹ and Samyuktāgama (*Tsa a han ching*)².

II Madhyamāgama

1 Translator

According to the oldest extant catalogues of the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, there existed two Madhyamāgamas in Chinese³; one was a translation by Dharmasānandin (or Chu Fo-nien)⁴ in 384-385 A.C., the other by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397-398 A.C. It has also been demonstrated that there were two Ekottarikāgamas in Chinese made by the same translators⁵. K. Mizuno, in his study of the relation of the extant Chinese Madhyamāgama (MĀ) and Ekottarikāgama (EĀ) to the translators, concluded that both were translated by the same person⁶. However, he still left the question open as to whether those translations were made by Dharmasānandin or Saṃghadeva.

The oldest existing catalogue of Chinese Buddhist translations, the *Ch'u san tsang chi chi*, compiled by Seng-yu in about 516 A.C., says that Dharmasānandin translated the MĀ and EĀ which he had recited from memory⁷. If the extant Chinese MĀ and EĀ correspond to his translations, their original texts would presumably have been transmitted by the identical school and in the same language. The two extant Chinese Āgamas, however, betray discrepancies in both their parallel passages with regard to their contents⁸ and in their transliterations which reflect the original languages⁹.

According to the oldest biography of prominent Buddhist monks, the Kao sêng ch'uan, the MĀ which Saṃghadeva translated was recited by Saṃgharakṣa¹⁰; yet there is no mention of the recitation of the EĀ which Saṃghadeva also translated. Therefore, the original text of this EĀ was probably from a different provenance. It is thus possible that the MĀ and EĀ which Saṃghadeva translated had been transmitted by different schools in different languages, which would explain the fact that the two extant MĀ and EĀ show discrepancies. For these reasons we can infer that both of the extant Āgamas could have been translations by Saṃghadeva, though originally from different sources.

2 Original Language

Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.C.), as is well known, refers to Padmākara-gṛha who, in his Dge-slon-gi dan pohi lo dri-ba composed towards the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century, said that the language used by the Sarvāstivādins had been Sanskrit¹¹. The Chinese MĀ has been ascribed to the Sarvāstivādins. Nevertheless, O. von Hinüber has recently demonstrated that the Chinese MĀ was of Gāndhārī origin written in Kharoṣṭhī¹². This can also be corroborated by the transliteration of Indian proper names¹³ in the text as follows.

Mithilā (Sanskrit: मिथिला¹⁴ = mī-sāt-la [Ancient (Karlgren) or Middle (Pulleysblank) Chinese]. This transliteration would reflect an original like *misilā which is a Gāndhārī form with -th-)-s-¹⁵.

Asvajit (Sanskrit: अश्वजित¹⁶ = ā-śiap-pwāi (Ancient or Middle Chinese). This transliteration would also reflect an original like *aspa'i which is also a Gāndhārī form with -śv-)-śp-¹⁷ and -ji-)-i-.

3 Place of transmission

As mentioned above, the Kao sêng chu'an states that the original text of the Chinese MĀ had been recited by Saṃgharakṣa. Since he and the translator, Saṃghadeva, are said to be from Chi-pin (蜀賓), this account suggests that the original text was also from Chi-pin. At that time, Kashmir or Gandhāra was referred to as Chi-pin, because the word *kāśmīra* had been translated or rather transliterated as Chi-pin, at least between 306 A.C.

and 512 A.C.¹⁸; furthermore Fa-hsien saw the Buddha's alms-bowl in Gandhāra, while other Chinese pilgrims saw the same bowl in Chi-pin at the same period¹⁹. It is therefore possible that the original text of the Chinese MĀ was current in Kashmir or Gandhāra. The first alternative is more acceptable because the Chinese MĀ, as demonstrated by S. Bando²⁰, includes a theory peculiar only to the Kashmirian Sarvāstivādins. The Kashmirian Sarvāstivādins together with the Chinese MĀ enumerate two celestial beings residing in the first stage of the realm of form, whereas all other branches of the entire Sarvāstivādins enumerate three.

4 School

The Chinese MĀ contains many verses parallel to the so-called Udānavarga (Uv). At present there remain three Sanskrit recensions of the Uv, viz., the older recension, the later Eastern Turkestan Sarvāstivāda recension, and the Mūlasarvāstivāda recension²¹. When we compare the Uv parallels found in the Chinese MĀ with the three recensions of the Uv, the Uv parallels in the Chinese MĀ are almost identical with the older recension of the Uv²².

The Chinese MĀ enumerates ten items as the questions the Buddha refused to answer²³, while other Sarvāstivādin literature lists fourteen²⁴. This evidence has raised a doubt as to the ascription of the Chinese MĀ to the Sarvāstivādins²⁵. However, the oldest Chinese version of the Vibhāṣāsūtra belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, P'i p'o sha lun, also enumerates ten items identical with those of the Chinese MĀ²⁶. These ten items agree with those found in the Pāli Nikāyas of the Theravādins as well, which would suggest that the ten items are older ones, the fourteen being later ones augmented after the schism between the Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins. These facts would confirm that the original text of the Chinese MĀ probably belonged to a tradition of the older MĀ transmitted by the Sarvāstivādins. The Sarvāstivādin affiliation of the text can also be certified by the following evidence.

The Chinese MĀ includes a passage²⁷ which corresponds to a citation given in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya²⁸ as scriptural proof of the most important theory of the Sarvāstivādins, the

theory being that in its own-being a thing remains the same throughout all three times, i.e. past, present and future.

5 Structure

In Śamathadeva's commentary upon the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, he states that the Sūtra containing the above cited passage is the first to appear in the Samādhisamyuktaka and that this Sūtra is known as the *Ārghila*²⁹. The corresponding passage in the Chinese MĀ is also found in a Sūtra entitled **Ārghila* that appears at the beginning of a collection which is instead called **Ārghila* as well. On the other hand, in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, we come across the passage, *Ārghilasūtraṃ Madhyamāgama Samādhisamyuktaka*, as well as some accounts of the *Ārghila-sūtra*³⁰. The accounts of the Sūtra are closely related in contents to the **Ārghilasūtra* of the Chinese MĀ. Furthermore, the Āgamas to which Śamathadeva refers are more closely allied to those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins than to any other schools or branches of the Sarvāstivādins whose literature is extant. It is therefore probable that the Samādhisamyuktaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādin MĀ corresponds to the chapter **Ārghila* of the Chinese MĀ.

In the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, we also find another passage, *Posadhasūtram Madhyamāgama Samgītanipāte*, and some accounts of the *Posadhasūtra*³¹. The accounts agree with the contents of the **Campāsūtra*³² in the chapter named **Mahā* in the Chinese MĀ. Moreover, in the Chinese version of the Vinaya, there is a reference, *Yakassūtram Madhyamāgama Samgītanipāte*, and also descriptions of the **Yakassūtra*³³. The accounts accord with the contents of the Sūtra entitled *Shang jên ch'iu ts'ai ching*³⁴ in the chapter **Mahā* in the Chinese MĀ. Thus we can accept the following chapter correspondences between the Chinese MĀ and the Mūlasarvāstivādin MĀ:

Chinese	Mūlasarvāstivādin
6 *Rājasamyuktaka	Rājasamyuktaka ³⁵
7 *Ārghila	Samādhisamyuktaka
11 *Mahā	Samgīta
12 *Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa ³⁶

III Samyuktāgama

1 Translation

The extant Chinese Samyuktāgama (SĀ) is in disorder with regard to the arrangement of its *chūan* or fascicles and is lacking the original *chūan* 22 and 25³⁷. The loss of *chūan* 25 has kept us from finding the *Oṭalāyanasūtra* to which the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins refers as a constituent of the SĀ³⁸. The *Vastusaṃgrahani* of the Yogācārabhūmi, which comments on most portions of the SĀ of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, indicates that the *Oṭalāyanasūtra* was originally included in *chūan* 25 of the Chinese SĀ³⁹.

2 Place of Formation or Transmission

In the Chinese SĀ, we notice two Sūtras, both of which inform us of the Buddha preaching the same discourse on *Āmadvīpa-dharma-dvīpa* (the self as refuge, the Dharma as refuge) at the same place, Mathurā⁴⁰. Their parallel Suttas in Pāli, however, mention *Sāvatthī* and *Ukkacellā* respectively as the place where they were preached⁴¹. The Buddha is not mentioned as having taught at Mathurā in any other Āgama or Nikāya. Furthermore, in a Pāli text the Buddha is said to have avoided Mathurā because of its five faults⁴², although the Mūlasarvāstivādin version of this text narrates that the Buddha entered Mathurā and preached there⁴³. These descriptions in the Chinese SĀ and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins would help lend authority to the Buddhist Order at Mathurā. Thus the original text of the Chinese SĀ and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins are highly likely to have been formed or at least transmitted at Mathurā.

3 School

The Chinese SĀ may be ascribed to the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which could be inferred from a comparison of the Uv parallels in this text with the three Sanskrit recensions of the Uv⁴⁴. Although the designation "Mūlasarvāstivādins" appears for the first time in the translations by I-ching in the second half of the seventh century, particular examples of diction peculiar to the Mūlasarvāstivādins are found in a Sanskrit manuscript dating from as early as the fourth century and in the Sarvāstivādin works translated by Hsüan-tsang in the first half of the seventh century⁴⁵.

4 Structure

We notice the following correspondences of chapter between the original text of the Chinese SĀ and the Samyuttanikāya in Pāli.

SĀ	Samyuttanikāya
1 *Pañcopādānaskandha ⁴⁶	3 Khandha
2 *Saddāyatana	4 Saddāyatana
3 *Nidānassamyukta ⁴⁷	2 Nidāna
4 *Śrāvakavyākhyāna ⁴⁸	
5 Mārgavarga	5 Mahā
6 *Buddhavyākhyāna ⁴⁹	
7 *Saṃgīta ⁵⁰	1 Saṃgātha

5 Quotations

The Chinese SĀ contains Sūtras which quote passages from the Pārāyana⁵¹, Arthavargiya, Śakraprasna, Udāna(?) and *Saṃgīta. Passages corresponding to the Sūtras and quotations in the Sūtras can be found in the Pāli Nikāyas, mostly in the Samyuttanikāya, except for one Sūtra⁵² which lacks a counterpart. It is therefore probable that these Sūtras were composed after the Pārāyana and the others had been formed, even if these five were not exactly the same as the extant ones; and those Sūtras were composed before the scriptural tradition split into the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins.

On the other hand, some Sūtras of the Chinese SĀ, which appear to be later accretions at first glance, are cited as scriptural proof in later philosophical works, e.g.,

SĀ Sūtra No.	Citation
1177	Mahāvānasaūtrālakṣāra, p.93,17 (Kōśānandī)
1356	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, p.314, 2

IV 1 Smaller Chinese Samyuktāgama

The smaller Chinese Samyuktāgama (Pieh 1 tsa a han ching)⁵³ has previously been ascribed to either the Dharmaguptakas or the Mahīśāsakas⁵⁴. However, an examination of parallel passages between the smaller Chinese SĀ and the Vinayas of those Buddhist schools shows that they belong to different traditions⁵⁵. Besides, the two Vinayas were translated into Chinese in almost the same

period as the smaller Chinese SĀ⁵⁶, and hence the Indian originals of these texts can be presumed to be nearly contemporaneous to the original text of this SĀ. These facts suggest that this SĀ does not belong to those schools. Instead, this text is closely related to a relatively earlier tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which could also be inferred from its Uv parallels⁵⁷.

IV 2 Ekottarikāgama

Concerning the Chinese Ekottarikāgama (Tseng 1 a han ching)⁵⁸, there are complicated questions which have yet to be solved on the school, place of formation, language of its original text, etc. As discussed above, it can at least be inferred that the translation of the text was made by Saṃghadeva.

IV 3 Dīrghāgama

The original text of the Chinese Dīrghāgama (Ch'ang a han ching)⁵⁹ belongs to the Dharmaguptakas, transmitted in Gāndhārī. Recently E. Waldschmidt published a Sanskrit fragment which he regarded as part of the Mahāparinirvāṣasūtra of the Dīrghāgama belonging to the Dharmaguptakas⁶⁰. Comparing the Sanskrit fragment with the Chinese Dīrghāgama in detail, however, we come across some discrepancies between them, especially with regard to the order of items of the so-called dvadasāṅga dharmaprocana (the twelve kinds of scriptures). The Sanskrit fragment⁶¹ arranges them in the same order as that of the Chinese SĀ of the Mūlasarvāstivādins⁶², while the Chinese Dīrghāgama⁶³ almost follows that of the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas⁶⁴.

We have so far conducted investigations into the original texts of the five Chinese Āgamas, yet there are still questions left to be solved, especially on the Ekottarikāgama. Besides, there are many Āgamic Sūtras in Chinese which require detailed studies. In particular, the Sūtras which An Shih-kao translated are important because they date from as early as the second century A.C. Thus this paper is meant to be an initial step towards the comprehensive study of the Chinese translations of early Buddhist scriptures.

Notes

1 Taishō No. (T) 26.

2 T 99.

3 Ch'u san tseng chi chi, T 2145, p.10b-c; Chung ching mu lu, T 2146, p.129a.

4 To be exact, Dharmasandin only recited its original text and Chu Fo-nien translated it. See T. Uebe, 'Jiku-Butsunen no Kenkyū [A Study of Chu Fo-nien]', *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Ronshū*, LI, Fetsugaku, 17 [The Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University, LI, Philosophy, 17], 1970, pp.3-38.

5 K. Mizuno, 'Kan'yaku Chūagon to Zōitsugongyō ni tsuite [On the Chinese Translation of the Madhyamāgama and Ekottarikāgama]', *Ōkurayama Gakuin Kiyō* [Proceedings of the Ōkurayama Gakuin], Vol.2, 1956, pp.41-90.

6 K. Mizuno, 'Zōitsugongyō Kaidai [A Bibliographical Introduction to the Chinese Ekottarikāgama]', *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Aponbu, VIII, 1969, pp.428 f.

7 T 2145, p.99b.

8 Mizuno, 'Kan'yaku...', pp.88-90; 'Zōitsugongyō...', p.426.

9 E.g. *Mithilā* (Sanskrit): 彌陀羅 (Chinese Mā, see II 2), *'misalā* (Gāndhārī): 彌陀羅 (Chinese Bā, T 125, p.806c21-22), *'midhilā*.

10 T 2059, p.361b24 f.

11 See A. Yuyama, 'Bu-ston on the Languages used by Indian Buddhists at the Schismatic Period', *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1980, pp.175-81.

12 O. von Hinüber, 'Upali's Verses in the Majjhimanikāya and the Madhyamāgama', *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. L.A. Mercus et al., Genberr 1982, pp.243-51; 'Sanskrit und Gāndhārī in Zentralasien', *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, ed. K. Rührborn and W. Veenker, Wiesbaden 1983, pp.27-34.

13 It is necessary to select transliterated words which are not found in previous translations. Cf. J.W. de Jong, 'Fa-hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon', *JPTS*, Vol.9, 1981, p.112.

14 T 26, pp.511c20, 683a3.

15 See J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, p.94. On -chi->-sa-

cf. *bodhi->bosa-* in H.W. Bailey, 'Gāndhārī', *BSOAS*, Vol.11, 1946, p.777.

16 T 26, p.472a1.

17 See Brough, op. cit., p.103; T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge 1937, p.21.

18 A yū wang ch'lan (translated in 306), T 2042, p.105a *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, p.339.

P'i p'o sha lun (translated in 383), T 1547, p.43a: A p'i ta mo ta p'i p'o sha lun, T 1545, p.254b.

Na hsien pi ch'iu ching (translated between 317-420), T 1670, p.702n. *Milindapañha* (PTS) p.82.

A p'i t'an p'i p'o sha lun (translated between 425-477), T 1546, p.198a: A p'i ta mo ta p'i p'o sha lun, loc. cit.

Shan chien lü p'i p'o sha (translated in 488), T 1462, p.684c, where *gandhāra* is transliterated as *chien t'o lo* (健陀羅): *Samantapāsādikā* (PTS), Vol.1, p.64.

A yū wang ching (translated in 517), T 2043, p.139c: *Divyāvadāna*, loc. cit.

19 See S. Kuwayama, 'Kāpiṭṭhī and Gandhāra according to Central Buddhist Sources', *Orient*, Vol.18, 1982, pp.133-9.

20 S. Bando, 'Kan'yaku Zōagon Kō [On the Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama]', *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* (IBK), Vol.XXX, 2, 1982, pp.854-7.

21 See L. Schmithausen, 'Zu den Rezensionen des Uḍḍānavagga', *WZKS*, Vol.14, 1970, pp.47-124.

22 See F. Enomoto, 'Uḍḍānavarga Shohon to Zōagongyō, Betsuyakuzōagongyō, Chūagongyō ho Buha Kizoku [On the Recensions of the Uḍḍānavarga and the Schools to which the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, the smaller Chinese Saṃyuktāgama and the Chinese Madhyamāgama are ascribed]', *IBK*, Vol.XXVIII, 2, 1980, pp.931-33.

23 T 26, p.804.

24 The Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, T 99, pp.245 f.: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (ed. P. Pradhan), p.292. In the present paper I regard the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* as a later branch of the entire *Sarvāstivādin*.

25 See C. Akenuma, *Bukkyō Kyōten Shiron* [Studies in the History of Buddhist Scriptures], Nagoya 1939, p.42.

26 T 1547, p.467b.

27 T 26, p.516c27 f.

28 p.390, .2 f.

29 Peking, Thu 1908. On this important work, see Y. Honjō, *A Table of Āgama-citations in the Abhidharmakośa and the Abhidharmakośopāṅkā*, Part 1, Kyoto 1984 (privately printed).

30 N. Dutt, *Early Manuscripts*, vol III, 2, pp.182-3 (repr. Delhi 1984).

31 *Ibid.*, Vol III, 3, p.107, 2-3.

32 Sūtra No.122

33 T 1448, p.69b4-9.

34 Sūtra No.136

35 Cf. E. Waldschmidt, 'Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas', *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*, ed. N. Bechert, Göttingen 1980, p.142.

36 *Ibid.*

37 See Lu Chéng, 'Tsa-a-han ching k'ān ting chi [A Record of Revision Work done on the Chinese Samyuktāgama]', *Mei hui ch' [The Inner Learning]*, Vol.1, 1924, pp.104-25; A. Mukai, 'Yagashijiron Shōjibun to 26agongyō [The Vastasaṃgrahaṇī of the Yogācārabhūmi and the Samyuktāgama]', *Hokkaidō Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō* [Annual Report of Cultural Science, Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University], Vol. XXXIII, 2, pp.1-41.

38 Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 1, p.19. Cf. Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp.140 f

39 T 1579, p.863b.

40 Sūtra Nos. 36 and 639. See T. Kadokawa & M. Uno, 'Haseō Chōkoku to Kyōten no Kankei [A Study on the Eight Scenes of Buddha's Life]', *IBK*, Vol. XXII, 1, .973, pp.447-60.

41 Samyuttanikāya, XXII.43; XLVII.14.

42 Aṅguttaranikāya, V.220; Manorathapūraṇī (PTS), Vol. III, p.329.

43 Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 1, p.17.

44 Enomoto, *loc. cit.*

45 See Schnitzhausen, *op. cit.*, pp.104-7, 111 f.

46 See Mukai, *op. cit.*, p.12.

47 See *Ibid.*, p.13.

48 See Honjō, *op. cit.*, p.11, 42).

49 See Honjō, *op. cit.*, p.103, 71; Mukai, *op. cit.*, pp.21-2.

50 See Enomoto, *op. cit.*, p.933, n.1. Furthermore, the designation as [sa]q-[i]tavarṇa, or rather [sa](m)g[i]tavarṇa is found in a Sanskrit fragment of the SĀ (E. Waldschmidt, 'A Note on Names and Surnames of Indra in a Fragment of a Buddhist Canonical Sanskrit Text from Central Asia', *JERS*, Vol. 54, 1968, pp.33-9). This fragment and its counterpart in the Chinese SĀ correspond to a Sutta in the Saṅgāthavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya. Incidentally, the Turfan Sanskrit text, which corresponds to the Saṅgītisuttanta of the Dīghanikāya, has previously been given the title Saṅgītisūtra. The Sanskrit manuscript itself, however, runs *saṃgītam dharmapāṭyaṇam* (p.206), and the Vinayas of the Dharmaguptakas and Mahīśāsakas also refer to the *Saṅgītasūtra (T 1428, p.98b-b17 and T 1421, p.191a20 respectively).

51 Folios 12 and 13 of Cat. No. 50 (*Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Part 4, p. 237 f.) have been identified as verses from the Pācāyana. Those verses correspond to part of a long Āgamic quotation in Śānatadeva's Abhidharmakośopāṅkā (Peking, Thu 128b4-129b7), another part of which has also been cited in Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (p.466) as belonging to the Kaudraka-āgama. This would suggest that the Sarvśrēti-vādins, or rather Mūlśrēti-vādins, whose Āgama is cited in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, transmitted the Kaudraka-āgama including the Pācāyana.

52 Sūtra No.988.

53 T 100.

54 K. Mizuno, 'Betsuyakusōagongyō ni tsuite [A Study of the smaller Chinese Samyuktāgama]', *IBK*, Vol. XVIII, 2, 1970, pp.482-92.

55 See Enomoto, *op. cit.*, pp.931-2; 'Agonkyōten no Seiritsu [On the Formation

of the Original Text of the Chinese *Agamas*!', *Tōyō Gakujutsu Kenkyū* [The Journal of Oriental Studies], Vol. XLIII, 1, 1984, p. 102.

56 Cf. Mizuno, 'Beishiyaku...', pp. 486-9.

57 See Enomoto, 'Udānavarga...', pp. 931-3.

58 T 125.

59 T 1.

60 E. Waldschmidt, 'Drei Fragmente buddhistischer Sūtras aus den Turfanhandschriften', *NAMU*, I, Phil.-hist. Kl. Jg. 1968, Nr. 1, pp. 3-16.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

62 T 99, p. 300c.

63 T 1, pp. 16c, 14b.

64 T 1428, p. 569b.

Fumio Enomoto
(Kacho Junior College,
Kyoto)

EKOTTARĀGAMA (III)

Traduit de la version chinoise par

Thích Huyền-Vi

Fascicule première (suite)

Partie 2

Les Dix Commémorations

"Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois que le Buddha résidait dans le parc d'Anāthapindada, dans le bois de Jeta, à Śrāvastī, il conseillait aux bhikṣus de pratiquer assidûment et de propager largement un dharma¹... les dix recommandations suivantes² :

1. la première consiste en la commémoration du Bouddha,
2. la deuxième concerne la commémoration du Dharma,
3. la troisième est la commémoration du Saṅgha,
4. la quatrième concerne la commémoration des règles et des disciplines,
5. la cinquième recommande la commémoration de la générosité,
6. la sixième consiste en la commémoration des divinités,
7. la septième est la commémoration de la sérénité de l'esprit,
8. la huitième concerne la commémoration de la respiration,
9. la neuvième recommande la commémoration de l'impermanence du corps humain,
10. la dixième consiste en la commémoration de la mort.

Ces bhikṣus pourront, disait le Bienheureux, alors exterminer toutes pensées illusives, acquérir des pouvoirs surnaturels (*iddhi*), obtenir des résultats grands, ultimes visées de tous les moines (*śramana*) et enfin parvenir au Nirvāṇa.

En résumé : il faut en premier lieu méditer sur le Bouddha, le Dharma, le Saṅgha, ensuite sur les règles, la générosité, les deva, la sérénité de l'esprit, la respiration, et en dernier lieu sur l'impermanence de son propre corps et sa mort.

Fascicule deuxième³

Partie 3

Les Explications Approfondies

1. LA BUDDHĀNUSMṚTI : La commémoration du Bouddha

"Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois que le Bouddha résidait dans le parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada, dans le bois de Jeta, à Śrāvastī, il conseillait aux bhikṣu de pratiquer et propager la première recommandation, c'est-à-dire la commémoration du Bouddha ou *buddhānusmṛti*⁴. Cette action leur amènera des réussites grandes telles que l'obtention de la 'rosée d'immortalité' ou *amṛta*⁵, l'accession au stade de l'*asamskṛta* ou d'inconditionné, l'acquisition des fondements du pouvoir surnaturel (*iddhipāda*)⁶ et enfin le Nirvāṇa.

Le Bouddha demanda aux bhikṣu : "Pourquoi le simple fait de méditer sur le Bouddha peut-il apporter des conséquences semblables?"

Les bhikṣu lui répondirent : "Vous nous avez déjà expliqué l'origine de toute chose, nous vous implorons maintenant de nous donner la merveilleuse signification de ce phénomène. Nous suivrons consciencieusement vos conseils par la suite."

Le Bienheureux leur dit alors : "Écoutez-moi bien avec votre cœur et votre intelligence et réfléchissez finement à ce que je vais vous expliquer.

Pendant la méditation, assis en position de lotus, gardez des attitudes correctes, l'esprit maintenu dans l'objectif principal, sans se laisser perturber par des pensées illusoire, méditez alors sur le Tathāgata, vos yeux toujours fixés sur sa figure; contemplez sa nature et ses mérites.

Comment est fait la nature du Bouddha? Elle est dure comme le diamant, dotée des dix forces ou *daśabala*⁷, des quatre assurances ou *vaśīśradya*⁸ et du courage hors du commun.

Le Tathāgata possède un regard de droiture extraordinaire qu'on peut contempler sans se lasser; ses qualités sont aussi pures, aussi dures et parfaites que celles du diamant et du lapis lazuli; la stabilité de sa concentration n'a jamais faibli. Il a déjà exterminé ce qui devait être éliminé, par exemple : l'orgueil, la passion, la colère, l'ignorance, la vanité. La sagesse du

Tathāgata n'a pas de limite, ne rencontre pas d'obstacle. Le corps du Tathāgata est libéré du cycle de la renaissance (*samsāra*) du commun des mortels, mais le Bouddha dit souvent qu'il reviendra dans le monde des hommes pour les aider. Sa connaissance des humains est absolue. Il sait distinguer celui qu'il peut aider de celui qu'il lui est impossible de le faire. Ainsi, il sera présent là où ce serait indispensable.

C'est cela la commémoration du Bouddha ou *buddhānusmṛti* et les merveilleux résultats acquis."

Ayant entendu ces explications, les bhikṣu s'empresaient de suivre les conseils.

2. LA DHARMĀNUSMṚTI⁹ : La commémoration du Dharma

Le Tathāgata recommanda aux bhikṣu : "Pendant la méditation, sans se laisser troubler par des pensées illusoire, réfléchissez à propos du Dharma pour éliminer la passion et les troubles nés des désirs. Comment comprendre le Dharma? Devant les tentations, les désirs ne doivent plus naître en nous, nous devons nous éloigner des contraintes issues de ces passions qui obscurcissent [notre vue juste].

Le Dharma est comme l'essence des parfums. Il est d'une pureté si parfaite qu'aucune pensée illusoire ne peut y trouver sa place.

Voilà ce que la méditation sur le Dharma peut vous apporter. Pratiquez assidûment la *dharmañusmṛti* et vous obtiendrez les merveilleux résultats déjà cités vous emmenant au stade ultime de l'Éveil."

3. LA SAṄGHĀNUSMṚTI : La commémoration du Saṅgha

Le Bienheureux conseilla au bhikṣu : "Dans la méditation, réfléchissez aussi sur le Saṅgha.

Le Saṅgha du Tathāgata est constitué de disciples ayant déjà accompli toutes les bonnes actions nécessaires pour accéder à la Vérité. Ils ne commettent plus aucune mauvaise action. Ils ont le sens de l'égalité [des hommes due à la nature de Bouddha qui existe en chaque être]. Ils ont accompli toutes les conduites éthiques : ils ont observé toutes les disciplines du Saṅgha; ils ont accompli la concentration parfaite; ils ont acquis la sagesse; ils sont parvenus à se libérer [des contraintes des

trois mondes]¹⁰ et on su qu'ils sont délivrés, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont acquis l'Eveil.

Qu'est-ce que c'est le Sangha? C'est l'Ordre [des moines et des nonnes] qui ont acquis les quatre états de Sainteté¹¹.

Vous devez respecter et vénérer les [disciples du Bouddha], dignes d'offrandes, parce qu'ils constituent des champs fertiles où tous les êtres peuvent semer les bons grains. Ils ont tous le même but : participer à la délivrance de soi-même et d'autrui pour parvenir au Triyāna¹². Ayant accompli toutes ces actions, ils sont considérés comme des disciples du Bouddha."

4. LA *ŚĪLĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration des règles

Le Bienheureux recommanda aux bhikṣu : "Pendant la méditation, sans se disperser mentalement, réfléchissez sur les règles et les disciplines. [Quelle est l'efficacité de ces règles?] Elles nous permettent d'exterminer les mauvaises pensées. Elles nous dirigent vers la réussite finale qui nous rendra heureux. Elles sont comparables à des glands qui nous ornent. Analogues à un vase miraculeux, elles peuvent faire réaliser tous nos vœux. Tous les [trente-sept] auxiliaires de l'illumination¹³ ont été ainsi élaborés grâce à ces disciplines.

Voilà, bhikṣu, ce que la méditation sur les règles et les disciplines peut vous apporter comme conséquences positives."

5. LA *TYĀGĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration de la générosité

Le Bienheureux conseilla : "Dans la méditation, réfléchissez aussi sur la générosité. Si nous sommes généreux sans regret au cœur ni attentes de la reconnaissance d'autrui, nous récolterons de merveilleux résultats. Si on nous insulte, nous ne devons pas lui rendre pareille; lorsqu'on veut nous nuire et si à ce moment-là nous tenons quelque chose dans la main, nous ne devons pas nous en servir pour riposter; même lorsqu'on utilise un couteau, un bâton, une pierre pour nous attaquer, tout en cultivant de la compassion nous ne devons pas nous fâcher. La générosité pratiquée de cette façon n'aura pas de fin et vous, bhikṣu, vous aurez appliqué la grande générosité et vous recevrez de merveilleux résultats."

6. LA *DEVATĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration des divinités

Le Bienheureux dit : "Pendant la méditation, en maintenant

l'esprit dans l'objectif principal, sans se laisser perturber par les pensées illusoire, réfléchissez sur les deva. Gardez votre corps, vos paroles, vos pensées dans la pureté et la sérénité. Ne créez pas de comportements malsains, appliquez les disciplines pour le corps et votre corps émettra de la lumière qui éclairera partout. Il deviendra alors un corps céleste lumineux. Un deva est celui qui a accompli toutes les bonnes conduites. C'est la conséquence de la méditation sur les deva."

7. L'*UPĀSĀNĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration de la sérénité de l'esprit

Le Bienheureux conseilla : "Méditez assidûment sur la sérénité de l'esprit. Ceci consiste à exterminer toutes pensées illusoire, à poursuivre jusqu'au bout la recherche de la Vérité, à ne pas commettre des actes de violence, d'actes de cupidité, à vaincre toutes les passions, à se réfugier dans les endroits paisibles et d'y trouver le moyen d'accéder à la concentration suprême (*samādhi*)."

8. L'*ĀNĀPĀNĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration de la respiration

Le Bienheureux recommanda : "Dans la méditation, n'oubliez pas d'observer votre respiration. Cela consiste à prendre conscience à tout moment de l'inspiration, de l'expiration, [du souffle long, du souffle court], du souffle froid, du souffle chaud. Examinez-vous de la tête au pied, prenez conscience du rythme de votre respiration. Comptez-le et analysez-le. La compréhension parfaite de la respiration vous apportera de grandes réussites."

9. LA *KĀYACATĀNUSHRĪ* : La commémoration du corps

Le Bienheureux dit : "La méditation sur le corps concerne la réflexion à propos des cheveux, des poils, des ongles, des dents, de la peau, des muscles, des nerfs, des os, de la vésicule biliaire, du foie, des poumons, du cœur, de la moëlle, des reins, des intestins grêles et gros, de la graisse, des excréments, de l'urine, du pancréas, des larmes, de la salive, des crachats, du sang, des pus, du poulx, etc. Osez poser des questions sur ce corps : Est-il vraiment composé de 'l'eau', de 'la terre', du 'feu' et du 'vent'¹⁴? D'où vient ce corps? Qui a créé les yeux, les oreilles, le nez, la langue, le corps et l'esprit? À quel endroit retournera-t-il à la fin de la vie?

Bhikṣu, c'est comme cela qu'il faut méditer sur le corps."

10. LA MARAÑĀNUSMĀTĪ : La commémoration de la mort

Le Bienheureux enseigna : "La méditation sur la mort nécessite une réflexion, une analyse approfondie à propos du passage de la mort à un endroit à la renaissance dans un autre monde, à ce va-et-vient incessant par les mêmes voies de souffrance, à l'impermanence de la vie, à la détérioration des sens comparable au pourrissement des arbres morts, à la fin d'une vie qui provoquera inévitablement la séparation d'avec les êtres chers, la disparition du corps, de la beauté, de la voix. Cette méditation exhaustive sur la mort peut vous apporter, bhikkhu, des conclusions positives vous permettant des réalisations grandes.

Voilà les dix recommandations, méditez-les assidûment, propagez-les autour de vous; vous récolterez de merveilleux résultats."

Après avoir écouté cet enseignement du Bouddha, les bhikkhu, fort satisfaits, s'empressèrent de suivre ces précieux conseils.

Notes

¹ Voir Taishō (T) 2, 552c9 et suiv.; cf. Anguttara I 30 (ekadhammo, bhikkhave, bahulīkatō... buddhānussati...); cf. la traduction anglaise de F.L. Woodward, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Londres, 1932 (réimpr. 1979), I, p.27; traduction allemande de Nyssatilo, rev. et éd. Nyanaponika, *Die Lehreden des Buddha aus der Angereichten Sammlung*, Freiburg i. Br., 1984 p.31; traduction en hindi par Ā. Kausalyāyan, *Anguttar-Nikāya*, Calcutta, 1957, p.32.

² Tout au long de ces dix recommandations sont répétées les mêmes conseils, seul l'intitulé change. Pour la dernière, il y a en plus un passage apparemment déplacé dans l'original chinois, car le texte dans T2, 533c5-9 est une répétition de ibid., 551c29-552a4 de la partie introductive. Ibid., pp.553a9-24 ressemble ibid., 552a4 et suiv. ou le roi Mahādeva adresse son fils aîné. Dans ce passage le roi Longue Vie (Tch'ang Cheu) informe le prince héritier que ses cheveux ont blanchi. Il veut lui faire comprendre par là son intention d'entrer dans l'Ordre des moines bouddhiques. Le passage termine abruptement; une gāthā est annoncée, mais rien ne suit.

³ Voir T2, 554a et suiv.

⁴ *Buddhānussmṛti* ou commémoration du Bouddha ne veut pas seulement désigner le Bouddha en tant qu'entité, mais désigne aussi la nature de Bouddha qui

existe dans chaque être. Cf. aussi É. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* (abr. en *Traité*) III, Louvain 1970, p.1329 et suiv.

⁵ Au sens figuré du terme, il désigne la libération de toutes souffrances de ce bas-monde.

⁶ Pour les *śāddhipāda*, voir *Traité*, pp.1177-9, 1815, 1891-22.

⁷ Les dix forces (*daśabala*) sont :

- la faculté de distinguer ce qui est conforme à la vérité, les bonnes ou mauvaises effets des actes.
 - la faculté de connaître le karma des êtres dans les vies antérieures, dans la vie actuelle et dans les vies futures.
 - la faculté de connaître le degré de perfectionnement des conduites humaines.
 - la faculté de percevoir les dispositions des gens.
 - la faculté d'évaluer le degré de compréhension de la Doctrine (Dharma).
 - la capacité de connaître les ressemblances et les dissimilitudes des différentes régions de l'univers.
 - la capacité de comparer le karma des résidents dans les 6 destinées (des Devas, des êtres humains, des génies de l'enfer, des esprits errants et des animaux) et le karma des religieux qui s'engagent dans le sentier octuple.
 - la faculté de connaître le comportement des êtres dans des multitudes d'univers.
 - la connaissance de toutes les vies antérieures des êtres.
 - la capacité d'éliminer tous les conditionnements détruisant ainsi toutes les habitudes.
- Voir aussi *Traité*, p.1505 et suiv.

⁸ Quatre assurances (*vaśīśādaya*) : il en existe deux catégories, les assurances des Bouddha et les assurances des Bodhisattva.

- Les assurances des Bouddha sont : i) la connaissance universelle, ii) l'extinction des souffrances, iii) la capacité de montrer la façon d'éviter le mal, iv) la capacité d'expliquer la cessation de la souffrance. Ces quatre assurances leur permettent de n'avoir peur de rien.
- Les quatre assurances des Bodhisattva : les Bodhisattva n'ont pas peur de propager le Dharma parce qu'ils ont i) la mémoire infailible, ii) l'utilisation du Dharma comme remède de tous les maux des humains, iii) la facilité dans les discussions, iv) la possibilité de répondre aux doutes et questionnements des humains.

Voir aussi *Traité*, p.1567 et suiv.

⁹ Le début et la fin des dix recommandations se ressemblent, ainsi nous ne les répétons pas.

¹⁰ Les trois mondes sont : le monde du désir (*kāmadhātu*), le monde de la forme (*rūpadhātu*) et le monde sans forme (*ārūpyadhātu*); voir par ex. *Mahāvīyutpatti* 3072-4.

¹¹ Lit. ce qui correspond aux "quatre paires d'hommes" (*purisayugāni*) et aux "huit caractères humains" (*purisapuggalā*) de la tradition pāli. Voir références dans PTS PED, p.470; cf. aussi Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, 3e éd. Colombo 1972, pp.20-2, q.v. *ariya-puggala*.

¹² Les trois Véhicules : certainement une interpolation mahāyānistes, ici comme d'ailleurs. Cf. W.E. Soothill et L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, Taipei 1970, pp.58a, 78a. Cf. BSR 1, 2, p.45, n.6.

¹³ Voir *Traité*, p.1115 et suiv., q.v. "les trente-sept auxiliaires de l'illumination". Cf. aussi BSR 1, 2, p.46, n.12.

¹⁴ L'eau, la terre, le feu, le vent : ce sont les quatre grands éléments physiques et les qualités primaires de la matière, présents dans tout objet matériel. Voir Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, p.48, q.v. *dhātu*.

BUDDHIST SCHOLARSHIP IN CANADA: ADDENDA *

Russell Webb

Page

48 1.18 *The Buddhist Religion* repr.1982.

49 (end of para.2) insert: Two Japanese pupils of Warder obtained their Ph.D. under his supervision: Shoryu Katsura for 'A Study of Harivarman's *Tattvasiddhi*' [*Satyasiddhiśāstra*] (1974), and Fumimaro Watanabe for 'Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma' (1976) which was subsequently published under the same title (Delhi 1983).

50 1.2 Waterhouse has surveyed 'Buddhism in Modern Music and Dance: Wagner, the Naropa Institute and Some Others' (*Spring Wind* 5,3, Toronto 1985).

52 1.17-18 from below: 'Antagonism Among the Religious Sects...' repr. in *The International Buddhist Forum Quarterly* 1, IV, Seoul 1979.

- 1.13-14 fr.b.: (...ed.Chai-Shin Yu...).

- 1.7 fr.b.: (...ed.Hok-lam Chan and Wm T.de Bary....

53 1.11 fr.b.: insert Dordrecht before 1977.

57 1.14 fr.b.: *The Life and Teachings of Naropa* repr. Shambhala, Boston 1986.

- 1.9 fr.b.: *The Tantric View of Life*, rev.ed., Varanasi 1976.

58 1.18 fr.b.: add 'The existential import of dynamic structure in rDzogs-chen Buddhism' (*Acta Indologica* 6, Marita 1984).

59 1.3 fr.b.insert: Florida and Brockway produced a somewhat unorthodox interpretation of 'Dukkha: A Discussion of the Buddhist Concept of Suffering' for the now-defunct journal of the British Mahābodhi Society, *Buddhist Quarterly* 9,4, London 1977.

59 1.9 fr.b.add: The Third Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies was also held in Winnipeg 1980 at which Prof.Guenther delivered the Presidential Address on the theme 'Tasks Ahead' (published in *JIAS* 4, 1981).

60 1.20 fr.b.: He [Kawamura] has also contributed the entry on Buddhism in Canada to the new *Canada Encyclopedia* (Edmonton 1985).

62 1.12 fr.b. insert new para.: A Ph.D. candidate from 1982 has been Gareth Sparham who was born in England and had lived as a monk in India and Nepal studying the Vajrayāna. During the

previous eight years he had been attached to the Buddhist School of Dialectics at Dharmasala. He has produced a new English translation of the Udānavarga entitled *The Tibetan Dharmapada* (Mahayana Publications, New Delhi 1983; repr. Wisdom Publications, London 1986) and a spiritual autobiography in 'A Personal Account of Buddhism' (*Spring Wind* 5.4, Toronto 1985-6).

63 1.11 insert new para.: Michael M. Ames holds the Chair of Anthropology and Sociology. Born 1933, he initially read Anthropology at the University but obtained his doctorate from Harvard in 1961 for a survey of 'Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Ceylon' (where he conducted fieldwork). Thereafter he pursued Indian/South Asian Studies at London and Chicago and, successively, held the positions of Asst. Prof. of Sociology at McMaster (1962-4), at British Columbia Asst./Assoc. Prof. (1964-70), and full Prof. and (from 1974) Director of Vancouver's Museum of Anthropology. At the conference on Theravāda Buddhism organised by the Association for Asian Studies in 1971 he presented a paper offering 'Some comments on Theravāda Buddhism in South and South-east Asian societies'. His published writings include 'Social and ideological change in Ceylon' (*Human Organization* 22, Washington 1963) repr. in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.) *The Protestant Ethic and Modernization* (New York 1968), R.N. Bellah (ed.) *Comparative Perspectives on Religion* (Boston) and, under the title, 'The Buddhist Reformation in Ceylon' (4 parts, *World Buddhism* 12-13, Dehiwala 1964); 'Buddha and the dancing goblins: a theory of magic and religion' (*American Anthropologist* 66, Menasha, Wisconsin 1964) repr. as 'Buddhism and Magic Rituals' (2 parts, *World Buddhism* 14, 1965); 'Magical-animism and Buddhism: a structural analysis of the Sinhalese religious system' (*Journal of Asian Studies* 13, Ann Arbor 1964, and *Aspects of Religion in South Asia*, ed. E.B. Harper, Seattle 1964), 'Religion, politics, and economic development in Ceylon: an interpretation of the Weber thesis' (*Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, Seattle 1964), 'Three Ways to Study Buddhism' (*The Buddhist Annual*, Colombo? 1965), 'The Theological Importance of Village Buddhism' (*World Buddhism Vesak Annual*, Dehiwala 1965), 'Some Recent Developments in Ceylon Buddhism' (*ibid* 1966), 'Ritual prestations and the structure of the Sinhalese Pantheon' (*Anthropological Studies in Theravāda Buddhism*, ed. M. Nash et al., Yale Univ. 1966), 'The impact of Western education on religion and society in Ceylon'

(*Pacific Affairs* 40, Univ. of B.C., Vancouver 1967, off. pr. as IBC Dept. of Asian Studies Reprint Series No 10 and repr. in abridged form, in the *Sri Lankaramaya Vesak Annual*, Singapore 1969), 'Westernization or modernization: the case of the Sinhalese Buddhists' (*Social Compass* 20, Louvain-la-Neuve 1973), 'Detribalized anthropology and the study of Asian civilizations' (*Pacific Affairs* 49, 1976), 'Tovil: The ritual chanting, dance, and drumming of exorcism in Sri Lanka' (*Monographs on Music, Dance and Theater in Asia* 14, New York 1977) - revised as 'The magical arts of the Sinhalese Buddhists of Sri Lanka' (*International Journal of Asian Studies* 2, 1982), and 'Tovil: Exorcism by White Magic' (*Natural History* 87, Washington 1978).

64 1.15 fr.b. insert new para.: The efforts of participants at Buddhist-Christian workshops held in Toronto during 1983-4 have resulted in the publication of transcripts of the talks given therein under the collective title, *Awakened Heart: Buddhist-Christian Dialogue in Canada* (United Church of Canada, Toronto 1985). The editor, Stanley Fefferman, is a professor at York University, Toronto, and Deputy Executive Director of the Canada Lumbini Committee at the Buddhist Council of Canada (also situated in Toronto).

64 1.13-14 fr.b.: from 1985 the title changed to *Journal of Developing Societies*.

- 1.11 fr.b.: K. Ishwaran (Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology) has also edited the *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (Leiden) from its inception in 1966.

65 insert new para.: An ex-patriate scholar is Leonard W.J. van der Kuip. Born 1952 in Geldrop, The Netherlands, he read, i.e., Psychology and Philosophy at Brock University, Religious Studies and Philosophy at Carleton University, Ottawa, and Religious/Mongolian Studies, Tibetology and Sinology at Saskatoon (all between 1970-6). He obtained an M.A. from the last-named university under the tutelage of Prof. Guenther and completed his training in Tibetology, Mongolian and Manchu studies, Indology and Sinology at Bonn and Hamburg in W. Germany - gaining his doctorate from the latter in 1979 for a study which was published under the title *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology*. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century (Stuttgart 1983). During the years 1980-3 he served with the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, later becoming Deputy

Director at the Nepal Research Centre in Kathmandu, and is currently a Research Assistant at the Free University in W.Berlin. He has contributed the following articles: 'A Note on the Development of Buddhism in Mongolia' (*Canada-Mongolia Review* 1.1, Saskatoon 1975), 'Phya-pa Chos-kyl seng-ge's Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory' (*Tibetan Studies*, ed.M.Brauen and P.Kvaerne, Zurich 1978; expanded for the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5, Dordrecht 1978), 'Introductory Notes to the *Pramāṇavārttika* based on Tibetan Sources' (*The Tibet Journal* 4.2, Dharamsala 1979), 'Notes on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*' (*Young Buddhist* 6, YMBA, Kathmandu 1980), 'Tibetan Contributions to the Apoha Theory: The Fourth Chapter of the *Tshad-ma'i rigs-pa'i-gter*' (*JAOS* 100, 1980), 'Marginalia on Sa-skye Paṇḍita's Oeuvre' (*JIAS* 7.1, 1984), 'On the Authorship of the *Gzhung-lugs legs-par bzhad-pa* Attributed to Sa-skye Paṇḍita' and 'Some Recently Recovered Sa-skye-pa Texts: A Preliminary Report' (*Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 7, 1985), 'A Text-Historical Note on *Hevajratāntre* II:1-2' (*JIAS* 8.1, 1985), 'Miscellaneous apropos of the Philosophy of Mind in Tibet: Mind in Tibetan Buddhism' (*The Tibet Journal* 10.1, 1985), 'Notes on the Transmission of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* in Tibet' (*ibid.* 10.2), 'A-propos of a Recent Contribution to the History of Central Way Philosophy in Tibet: Tsong khapa's Speech of Gold' and 'Studies in the Life and Thought of Mkhas-grub-rje I: Mkhas-grub-rje's Epistemological Oeuvre and his Philosophical Remarks on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*' (*Berliner Indologische Studien* 1, 1985), 'Sa-skye Paṇḍita on the Typology of Literary Genres' (*Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10, Reinbek 1986), 'An Early Tibetan View of the Soteriology of Buddhist Epistemology: The Case of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po' (*Journal of Indian Philosophy* 14, 1986), 'On the Sources for Sa-skye Paṇḍita's Notes on the 'Beam-yas Debate' (*JIAS* 9.2, 1986) and 'Studies in the Life and Thought of Mkhas-grub-rje II: On the Debate between Mkhas-grub-rje and Rong-ston' (*Berliner Indologische Studien* 2, 1986).

65 add final para.: Mention must also be made of Glen H.Mullin who was born in Gaspé, Quebec. In 1972 he travelled to Dharamsala, the seat of the Dalai Lama in India, and joined the Buddhist Studies Programme which had been established at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives by Geshe Ngawang Dargye (his first tutor). He was a script consultant for Graham Coleman's documentary films, 'Tibet: A Buddhist Trilogy', and serves in the Research

and Translation Bureau of the Dalai Lama's Library. He has already translated the following Tibetan texts: *Stanzas for a Novice Monk* [attributed to Nāgārjuna] and *Essence of the Ocean of Vinaya* [by Tsongkhapa], with Lobsang Rabgay (Dharamsala 1978), *Four Songs to Je Rinpoche*, with Lobsang Norbu Tsonawa (*ibid.*), *Bringing the Sutras and Tantras*: a collection of ten minor works by Dalai Lama I (*ibid.* 1981; repr. by Snow Lion Press, Ithaca, NY 1982, in their series *Selected Works of the Dalai Lamas*). In the latter he has tr. Dalai Lama III: *Essence of Refined Gold* (1982), DL VII: *Songs of Spiritual Change* (1982) and DL II: *The Tantric Yogas of Sister Niguma* (1985). He has also, with Brian C.Beresford, tr. the Bodhipāthapradīpa and other (Tibetan) treatises for *Mahāyāna Texts on the Graded Path* (Dharamsala 1978), with Doboom Tulku, tr. 'The Life of Jowo Atiṣa' and Atiṣa's *Mahāyāna-pāṭha-sādhana-varṇasamgraha*, *Vimalaratnalekha* and *Satya-dvaya-avatāra* for *Atiṣa and Buddhism in Tibet* (Tibet House, New Delhi 1983), and miscellaneous Tibetan texts for his compilation on *Death and Dying*. The Tibetan Tradition (Boston and London 1986).

* to BSR Vol.2, Nos 1-2 (1985), pp.47-65.

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Pali gehört keineswegs in die Gruppe der sogenannten "toten" Sprachen, sondern dient auch heute noch der Verständigung zwischen gelehrten buddhistischen Mönchen in Sri Lanka, Thailand und anderen Ländern Südostasiens. Innerhalb dieses buddhistischen Kulturkreises hat Pali auf religiös-philosophischem Gebiet fast den Charakter einer internationalen Gelehrtensprache angenommen. - Für Buddhisten aus dem deutschen Sprachraum ist Pali vor allem deshalb so wichtig, weil in dieser Sprache die Lehren des Buddha überliefert worden sind. Über die philosophisch-religiösen Texte hinaus bietet die Pali-Literatur aber auch eine Fülle von kulturgeschichtlichem und soziologischem Material, das noch nicht voll ausgewertet worden ist. Neue Forschungen, die ohne Pali-Kenntnisse nicht möglich sind, erschließen weitere Zusammenhänge. Hieraus wird ersichtlich, daß Pali über die rein buddhistischen Aspekte hinaus auch heute noch aktuelle Bedeutung hat, in Südostasien ebenso wie in der westlichen Welt, wo ein Teil dieser Forschungsarbeit geleistet wird.

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OBITUARIES

A. L. Basham (24.6.14 - 27.1.86)

One of the foremost historians of Indian civilisation (and one of the very few Western specialists in this field) died of cancer in Calcutta and was buried at Shillong. Although a naturalised Australian citizen, he was undoubtedly a spiritual son of India.

Arthur Llewellyn Basham was born in Essex, England, the son of a journalist attached to the Indian Army. In 1938 he won the Ouseley Scholarship in Urdu at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and thereafter graduated with a First Class Honours degree in Indo-Aryan studies. After the Second World War he was appointed Reader in the History of India (1953) and four years later became Professor of the History of South Asia at the University of London. He always concentrated his energies on teaching and throughout his career supervised over 100 doctoral dissertations. As a student at one of his year-long courses in Comparative Religion at an evening institute, the writer of this tribute can testify to the persuasive charm of his appealing oratory and to his deep-rooted adherence to Indian philosophy.

He became a Visiting Lecturer to universities in the USA, India and Pakistan and was a sectional president at the International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi 1964. In the following year he accepted an invitation from the Australian National University in Canberra - a move he described as the 'brain drain' in reverse! - to become Head of the School of General Studies in the Faculty of Asian Studies. On his retirement in 1978 he became Visiting Professor at the School of Graduate Studies in the Centre for Religious Studies, Toronto University, lecturing occasionally at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, and Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. Before leaving North America he acted as President of the Fourth Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies which met at Wisconsin University, Madison, in 1980. Five years later, at the age of 71, he was invited to Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal which honoured him with the Vivekananda Professorship of Oriental Studies and its bicentenary plaque. (He had already been awarded the title of Desikottama by the Visvabharati University, Shantiniketan.) At the time of his death he was master-

minding an ambitious Encyclopaedia of Indology on behalf of the Asiatic Society.

Although few of Prof. Basham's writings deal exclusively with Buddhism, it was always accorded sympathetic treatment in numerous books and papers. His most celebrated study and the one work by which he will long be remembered is the highly readable tome, *The Wonder that was India* (London 1954, pbk repr. 1985; New York 1963 and Delhi 1984), which surveys the totality of culture in the Sub-continent up to the Muslim conquests. (Translations of this unique study have been made in French, Polish, Spanish, Hindi, Malayalam, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Sinhalese.) Based on his doctoral dissertation at SOAS he produced a seminal and, indeed, the only full-length account of the *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (London 1951; repr. Delhi 1981) and later contributed entries on this 'vanished Indian religion' to the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (Vol. I, fasc. 2, Colombo 1963) and the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute* (Vol. XXII, Calcutta 1971). His inaugural lecture at his alma mater was published under the title *The Indian Sub-Continent in Historical Perspective* (SOAS 1958; German tr. by F. Wilhelm, *Sacculum* X, Munich 1960). His remaining books comprise *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (a collection of essays which includes the early history of Ceylon, Calcutta 1964) and *Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* (Bombay 1966). Following a conference on the subject held in London 1960, he edited the *Papers on the Date of Kanishka* (Leiden 1968), and later edited *The Civilizations of Monsoon Asia* (Sydney 1974) and *A Cultural History of India* (to which he also wrote the Introduction and Conclusion - Oxford 1975; repr. OUP, Delhi 1985).

In addition, he contributed 'Prince Vijaya and the Aryanization of Ceylon' (*Ceylon Historical Journal* I, Colombo 1952), 'A new study of the Śaka-Kushāna Period' (BSOAS XV, 1953), 'The Background to the Rise of Parakkama Bāhu I' (ibid. XXII, 1955), 'The Background of Buddhism' to H. Westmann (ed.) *Man in his Relationships* (London 1955), 'Jainism and Buddhism' to Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.) *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Part II, New York 1958; repr. [?] in de Bary *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan*, New York 1972), *Contributions to The Role of Oriental Studies in the Humanities - A Symposium* (Intl Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi 1964), 'Buddhism' (a BBC radio talk transcribed in *The Listener* LXXII, London 1964), 'Indian Thought in the West'

(*Hemisphere*, Canberra, Dec. 1966), 'The Rise of Buddhism in its Historical Context' (*Asian Studies*, Manila, Dec. 1966; amended version - 'The Background to the Rise of Buddhism' - included in *Studies in History of Buddhism*, ed. A. K. Narain, Delhi 1980), 'The Pāli Jātakas' (*East Wind*, ANU, Canberra 1968-9), 'Facing Buddhism' (*Annals* LXXX, Sydney 1969), 'Oriental Studies in Australia' (*Education News* XII, 1970), 'The Ajanta Murals' (*Art and Australia* VIII, Sydney 1970), 'The International Congress of Orientalists' (*Abr-Wah-rain* X, Leiden 1970-1), 'Some reflections in the Separate Kalinga Edicts of Asoka' (*Buddhism and Jainism*, ed. H. C. Das et al., Institute of Oriental and Orissan Studies, Cuttack 1976), 'Asoka and Buddhism - A Reexamination' (Presidential Address, IJABS 5.1, Madison 1982) and 'Āśoka', 'Āśvaghoṣa', 'Buddhism in India' and 'Kanishka' (*The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, 16 vols, New York and London 1987).

RBW

W. S. Karunaratne (1929 - 86)

A scholar, active Buddhist and one-time diplomat, Prof. Karunaratne died in Colombo aged 57.

He pursued graduate studies at the University of London which, in 1956, awarded him a Ph.D. for his dissertation on 'The development of the theory of causality in early Theravāda Buddhism'. From his previous position as senior lecturer in Pali and Buddhist Civilisation at Peradeniya, he was appointed to the Chair in 1964 and subsequently elected Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies. After a short interval during which he served as Sri Lanka's ambassador to the USA (where he founded the New York Buddhist Viṇaya and the Sri Lanka Buddhist Association) he became Head of the Department of Buddhist Studies at Kelaniya.

He wrote in Sinhala and English, contributing several items to Buddhist journals together with a description of 'The Effortless Way to Nirvāṇa' for the *Malaissekera Commemoration Volume* (ed. O. H. de A. Wijesekera, Colombo 1976).

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The World of Buddhism, Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture. Ed. Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich. Thames and Hudson, London 1984. 306 pp. with 297 illustrations, 82 in colour, 215 photographs, drawings and maps. £20.00.

This is a sumptuous production and is recommended to Buddhists in any country where they are cut off from the sources of Dhamma inspiration both by distance and alien culture. To leaf through the illustrations could be a refreshing reminder of the riches of Buddhist culture when one is surrounded by the uninspiring materialism of modern urban sprawl. This is not to say, of course, that Buddhist-influenced cultures do not have their failings, though this line of thought, for lack of space, cannot be followed here.

The World of Buddhism is very much more than a handsome picture book for it contains articles on various aspects of Buddhism from its beginnings to its modern manifestations. Thus we have an introduction by Richard Gombrich on 'The Buddhist Way' in which he very ably maps out the Indian background to Buddhist Teachings and something of the diversity of Buddhist organisation. In the centre of all this stands the Sangha, mostly and usually monastic though there have been many variations.

In the opening chapter Etienne Lamotte offers us 'The Buddha, His Teachings and His Sangha', a learned and concentrated account of the Triple Gem, with special emphases on the rules, ideals and lives of monks and nuns. While the late author of this chapter knows his texts well, he is not so well-informed about practice. I have never, in any Buddhist tradition, found Uposatha-days celebrated as "a day of fasting", the reverse certainly being true in South-East Asia! His account of Uposatha (Sanskrit, Posadha), the Observance Days, of which he says that the monks in unison chant the monastic rule (*pāṭimokkha/prātimokṣa*) while it may have been conducted in that way in ancient India, certainly differs from present practice in Asia where only one monk chants and the rest listen respectfully. As he has drawn here from the Sanskrit traditions, many not generally available in English, one cannot say that he is mistaken. And it is perhaps only a

non-Buddhist who could write in the concluding paragraph, of the Buddha's monks and nuns after the final Nibbāna, "Abandoned by their master, the disciples had to continue the work...". Arahants surely did not feel abandoned, nor other Noble Ones, and while the disciples who still had 'ordinary' minds may have felt grief, 'abandoned' is still the wrong word to use.

In the next section, 'The Indian Tradition', there are chapters on 'Buddhism in Ancient India', 'Expansion to the North: Afghanistan and Central Asia', and 'Nepal: the Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom'. In the first sub-section, 'The Evolution of the Sangha' by Gombrich, the texts are dealt with and their transmission through the various Councils. A reasonable critique is also given of the 'authenticity' of the scriptures, noting the Indian tendency from earliest Vinaya and Sutta texts down to the latest of the Tantras, to scribe everything to the (or a) Buddha or his disciples. This makes for many complications in the minds of Westerners who tend to take a rather literal view of authorship. It is perhaps rather strange to quote a translation of the Dhammapada so ancient as that of Max Müller (1881), but the other quotations at the end of this section are more up to date.

Two further sub-sections on 'Mahāyāna Buddhism' and 'The Monastic Contribution to Buddhist Art and Architecture', by Lamotte and Lal Mani Joshi respectively, follow. The reviewer found all this material well-presented and was particularly fascinated with some of the material in the latter section. After this Oskar von Hinüber deals with Afghanistan and Central Asia. This is a specially interesting section as the former Buddhist culture there is still poorly known to many Buddhists today. It was a very rich and varied culture which interacted not only with Hindu elements but also with the Nestorian Christian, Zoroastrian and Manichaean traditions, while in the easternmost parts it was subjected to Chinese influence. Its final downfall was the result of increasing Muslim influence though, surprisingly, the Buddha's Teachings and Islam coexisted for even hundreds of years in some places.

Nepal is a country where coexistence has been possible (but not profitable) with Hinduism, as the next section by Siegfried

Lienhard shows. The richly ornate Buddhism of the Newars of the area around Kathmandu is a tenacious survival of the more 'popular' elements. A monastic (celibate) Sangha has not survived nor, one suspects, has meditation practice. Instead there are rituals and worship, with great festivals and processions occurring every year. Though the artistic heritage of Buddhism from India has survived sheltered in this little valley, and though the rituals and festivals are splendid, yet the dissatisfaction of many young Newars with this rather empty shell can be seen in the increasingly flourishing Theravāda influence.

In the next three chapters in fact, Theravāda in the countries where it is strongest is illustrated in pictures and described with text. Sri Lanka's Buddhism, 'They will be Lords upon the Island', is ably dealt with by Michael Carrithers - history, the monk as teacher, preacher and priest, the monk as landlord (not the way one thinks of monks in this country, so far!), monks in politics and, the monk as forest-dweller, leading up to the modern Sangha.

Heinz Bechert's 'To be a Burmese is to be a Buddhist' comes next and the author gives a lively account of how Buddhism has fared in Burma. There is a good outline history right up to the present with interesting details of what happened to Burmese Buddhism under the British. The cartoon ridiculing foreigners (= British Raj) who would rather be carried round a pagoda on the backs of Burmese than submit to the 'indignity' of removing their shoes, is indeed amusing. The post-WWII ups and downs of politics and religion are well compressed, with mention of course of the great Sixth Council. The structure of the Burmese Sangha and the various attempts at reforming it, including the latest plan of 1979, are given in some detail. One of the initiatives of the present government is the Piṭaka Translation Society which, under the leadership of former Prime Minister U Nu, is preparing a new translation of the Pali Canon. Nuns are mentioned too, with the mysterious date '456 AD' given as the time for the extinction of the bhikkhunīs. I wonder where this date is derived from? Nats, the native deities of Burma, have to be mentioned of course, but so too, by contrast, are a few monks believed to have been Arahants. This section ends with an account of temples and monasteries, specially referring to their education.

nal functions. This is a very lively and interesting account.

'The Way of the Monk and the Way of the World: Buddhism in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia' is Jane Bunnag's contribution. She has outlined how Buddhism entered Thailand and Laos first. In the course of this there is mentioned "Pali literature both sacred and secular", but the reviewer is unaware that any of the latter exists. Perhaps she means various 'histories' (*vamsa*) written in Pali but these are, after all, predominantly religious histories. The position of Buddhism in Cambodia follows, showing how the elaborate structure of Mahāyāna, often fused with Hinduism, crumbled as the Khmer empire decayed, to be replaced by "the egalitarian teaching of Theravāda Buddhism". 'Sangha and State', a section on the relationship between these two, is important for understanding Buddhism in these three countries. She quotes a Japanese author approvingly when he says that due to too close a control of the monks, especially in regard to the examinations, "the Thai monks' understanding of Buddhism became stereotyped". This is very true and is reflected in the rigidity of Thai ecclesiastical arrangements which are arch-conservative and in the consequent hierarchy in the Sangha which is more marked than in other Theravāda countries. Under the heading 'The Life of the Monk', some rules are listed with one or two inaccuracies, but there is not much room for details here. The information given on entering the Sangha and personal aspects of the monk's role is perhaps not easily available elsewhere. The fact that the Sangha is open to almost anyone to join is rather surprising to Westerners who are accustomed to a priesthood that has taken various degrees and has already the benefits of higher education. Buddhist monks, some of them, may go on to acquire this but they do not have to possess it at the time of ordination. Some of them indeed tire of the system (and the monks' town life can be rather boring) and go on a kind of pilgrimage to different teacher-monks and shrines. It is interesting that when they do so they are regarded with suspicion in Thailand, as their mode of life then comes nearest to that of the Buddha himself and the Sangha in the early days. This reflects the same rigidity commented on above. A small error in the description of the print on p.165: it does not have the Buddhist Wheel symbol in the centre but rather, Vishnu's Wheel, a good illustration of

how 'popular religion' mixes elements of Buddhism, Hinduism and the native animism. On the subject of small faults, an illustration of a monk receiving almsfood on p.37 is almost certainly not in Rangoon but in Bangkok.

Monastic aspects of the monk's role give some 'inside' information on monasteries, what the abbot does, how the lay people relate to the monastery and a paragraph or two on nuns. Of the latter, the author gives a rather abysmal picture and does not mention two or three movements which are improving the role of nuns in society, through scholarship as at Mahamakut University and their own training centre in Phetburi, through the 'yellow nuns' of Nakorn Pathom who are led by Thailand's only bhikkhuni, or through the 10-precept nuns of the rebel, Acharn Bodhirakkh.

There is quite a lot on amulets and superstition, fair enough one supposes as so many Thai monks encourage it, but the space could have been better used to mention more Sangha-teachers than Acharn Buddhadasa and the rather disreputable Kittivuddho. It is surprising that the meditation teachers in the north-east of Thailand, who will probably prove to be the most significant factor for the flourishing of Thai Buddhism in the future, are not mentioned at all. This is a great pity. The influence of meditation on many new lay Buddhist groups and its strength in university Buddhist groups, such as that led by some new and large wats on the outskirts of Bangkok, has also been missed.

Well, the review has already reached rather unmanageable lengths and, as the reviewer is most familiar with the Buddhism of South and South-East Asia, he will pass over the very interesting chapters on China, Vietnam and Korea (Erik Zürcher), Japan (Robert Heinemann), and then Tibet (Per Kvaerne), leaving enjoyment of these to the reader.

A number of things could be said about the last chapter by Bechert, 'Buddhist Revival in East and West', but the most important perhaps is how impossible a task it is to pack all the information into just over ten pages! Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States are all treated, but obviously the author has not enough space and certainly with Britain his information is out of date. The Chithurst-Amaraṭaṭi Sangha of mostly Western-born monks and nuns is not mentioned.

Countries like Australia, where Buddhism is much smaller (and where this reviewer lives), have no space at all. Still, every aspect of Buddhism today - an ever-changing present - could never be included.

Concluding then, may I recommend this volume to your libraries?
- It will give you much to look at and think about.

Phra Khantipālo
(Head of Wat Buddha-Dhamma,
New South Wales,
Australia)

✓ The Beginnings of Buddhism. Kōgen Mizuno; tr. by Richard L. Gage.
Kosei, Tokyo 1980. xiv + 220 pp. £4.75.

The preface to this work summarises its intentions in saying that it 'is not an ordered, doctrinal presentation but a blend of what I have to say about the teachings and of material concerning the life of Shakyamuni taken from the oldest and most reliable sources'. This is an accurate description though, having read it, one is left wondering whether the author should not have made up his mind one way or the other and either written an evaluation of the ideas of primitive Buddhism as expositor and advocate or more firmly assumed the role of impartial historian and textual scholar. After a very brief introductory chapter on 'The Indian background' we are given a fairly standard account of Gotama's life and ministry from Buddhist sources, with digressions into important doctrines and such matters as 'Supernatural powers' (ch.16) and 'Buddhism and Jainism' (ch.11). The fact that the last two chapters deal with 'The Great Decease', i.e. Gotama's death and the events that immediately followed, and 'A Buddhist Guide for Living' (essentially a synopsis of Buddhist lay ethics based on the Sigālovāda Sutta) perhaps sufficiently illustrates the ambivalence referred to. The 'blend' in other words does not entirely work as far as this reviewer is concerned, though there is much to interest. Apart from the text, there are sixteen pages of black and white photographs (of not particularly high quality) showing the usual places of pilgrimage and a glossary which, reasonably enough given the nature of this book, is much stronger on personal and place names than on technical terms.

Absence of diacritical marks throughout is a minor flaw and the translation sometimes jars, as when we are offered 'Right memory' (p.57) instead of the more familiar 'Right mindfulness'.

On the evidence of the English edition, one must assume that the book is intended for readers with little knowledge of Buddhism. The semi-biographical and anecdotal presentation makes it easy and attractive reading, but more information by way of notes on the source material would have enhanced its interest for those directly acquainted with some of the texts. For instance, the well-known account of Gotama's period of asceticism is given here with the information that the five followers he acquired were in fact men sent by his father 'to care for his son' (p.26). The reviewer was not able to trace this embellishment in the translations from the Pali and would be interested to know where it came from. Some general summary of divergences between the Pali Canon and the Chinese version of the Āgamas would indeed have been welcome and, for that matter, the extent to which each has been drawn on.

Occasionally the author irritates or puzzles. The statement in the preface that 'Shakyamuni is ranked as one of the four: great sages of the world together with Socrates, Jesus Christ and Confucius' is surely an uncritical quotation from Karl Jaspers' book *The Great Philosophers*, and Hindus will hardly be overjoyed to learn that only Buddhism, Christianity and Islam rank as 'great religions' (p.x). Then again, it is puzzling to be given a reference to the three marks or attributes of existence which substitutes 'nirvana is quiescence' for the expected mention of *dukkha* (suffering or dissatisfaction) (p.97). However, when the author allows himself to speculate freely he is often illuminating, as in suggesting that a fanciful account of the visit by the Master to the 'Heaven of the Thirty-three Devas' simply represented the pious imagination at work during a period of prolonged absence on solitary meditation when, of necessity, 'hard information' about him would have been difficult to come by (p.142).

Most readers, then, can hope to get something from this book, provided they can steer a sensible middle course between pious credulity and a negative reaction to certain aspects of the author's style.

David Evans

Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission. Kōgen Mizuno. Kosei, Tokyo 1982. 220pp. \$5.20.

This work was originally published in twenty-eight issues of the monthly magazine *Kosei*, then in book form (1980), before being 'completely re-organized' for its English-language edition. The author teaches Buddhism at Komazawa University and is described as an authority on Pali texts.

The book is essentially a history of the 'vast task of communication and translation' involved in the handing on of the Buddhist Canon. While there is discussion of its formation and diffusion in India and Sri Lanka, the work focuses on the transmission of the Canon in China, through the barriers of geography, culture and language. The author has indeed given a multi-faceted overview of this 'vast task' and, in doing so, uncovers a story of energy and scholarship that stands as an inspiration for the current generation of scholars.

In India, the Āgamas/Nikāyas were orally transmitted in various languages, translated from the (Old) Māgadhī that the Buddha probably spoke. In time they came to be written down, generally in the Brāhmī script thought to have developed from Phoenician around 800 B.C. (The author points out that nearly every human script, except for Chinese and its derivatives, developed from Egyptian glyphs, through Phoenician script.) Brāhmī itself was the basis of scripts in Sri Lanka and South-East Asia (from the rounded southern Brāhmī) and in Nepal, Tibet and Mongolia, whence it even influenced a Korean script.

While the Theravāda school generally kept its texts in Pali, a west Indian language (Pāliśī), the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts reaching China, through Central Asia, were translated into the language of the Chinese empire. The earliest translations - dating from 67 A.C., at least - dealt with matters easiest for the Chinese to appreciate: ethics and stories of the Buddha and his previous lives. Doctrinal matters were harder to put across: the earliest method, later rejected as misleading, was to use Taoist terminology as the medium of translation. The author gives interesting details on the difficulties, described by the translators, of moving between the two totally unrelated languages of Sanskrit and Chinese. The former is, for example,

highly inflected but stylistically simple, while the latter lacks such inflections but was generally written in an ornate and polished style.

Of the many translators involved in the origin of the Chinese Canon, the author names four as the most important: Kumārajīva (344-413) from Kuchā, Central Asia; Paramārtha (499-569) from Western India; the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang (596-664); and Amoghavajra (705-774) from Sri Lanka. The biography of Kumārajīva is outlined, and his seminal influence on East Asian Buddhism is emphasized: his translations were the first really to capture the essential meaning of crucial doctrines, and did this in elegant Chinese which was also excellent for recitation purposes. The heroic journey of the pilgrim Fa-hsien (340-420?) is also described, as is the difficult life of Paramārtha, whose translation work was constantly hampered by the war-torn conditions of Southern China in his day. The author devotes a chapter to Hsüan-tsang, the only Chinese of the four great translators; his output was of very high quality, and comprises one fifth of the Chinese Canon. After learning all he could of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna ideas from numerous teachers in China, he travelled to India to learn yet more. He later returned to a triumphant welcome with 658 works: Sūtras, Vinayas and treatises. While the bulk of these were Mahāyāna, they also included texts from several Hīnayāna collections, including fifteen Theravādin ones. Little is said of Amoghavajra and the Tantric texts that he translated, but it is noted that he studied Tantric Buddhism in Sri Lanka for three years, after previously coming to China at the age of fourteen.

Once Buddhism was rooted in China, it underwent both persecution and promotion by the royal court. A result of one such persecution, in 574, was the birth of the custom of inscribing sūtras on rocks for posterity. For example, between 605 and 1094 many sūtras were inscribed on the polished walls of chambers hewn in the living rock of Mt. Fang. The author also describes the meticulous methods of translation-bureaux set up with royal patronage, and the several sūtra-catalogues that were commissioned.

Sūtra-catalogues were very necessary in order to keep track of the growing corpus of texts, as new ones were translated,

old ones were re-translated - and 'sūtras' originated in China. Some sūtras of Chinese origin were accepted as 'genuine', others were labelled in catalogues as 'spurious'. The 'genuine' ones were those seen as being in accord with fundamental Buddhist teachings; their origin lay in the effort to adapt these teachings to the Chinese way of thinking. According to the author, one such text was the 'Sūtra of Meditation on Amitābha Buddha' (Kuan wu-liang-shou-ching), though other scholars see this as of Indian origin. Many of the 'spurious' sūtras existed: a 1930 A.C. catalogue lists 392 of them, compared with 1076 non-spurious works. Such spurious texts included (over-)simplified abbreviations of Indian sūtras, teachings uttered by people in a possessed state, attempts to palm-off folk-beliefs as Buddhism, and attempts to take advantage of Buddhism for some purpose.

As well as categorising sūtras as spurious or not, the Chinese also had to develop systems for classifying the many Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sūtras which came to be translated. Discrepancies and contradictions were apparent between these, yet they were all regarded as having been taught by Śākyamuni Buddha. Difficulties were resolved by following the principle that the Buddha adapted his message according to the capacity of his audience - or that his 'one message' was interpreted according to such capacities. The early classification-systems simply assigned sūtras to different periods of the Buddha's life, in a relatively value-free way; later systems, though, were used to accord highest value and truth to the chosen sūtra(s) of a particular school, e.g. the T'ien-t'ai.

Sūtra-study is not the whole of Buddhism, and the author points out that those schools which emphasized study at the expense of practice did not survive long in China. In particular, he implies that Bodhidharma's almost non-scriptural approach should be understood as a corrective to the eclipse of practice by study in sixth century China.

On the aspect of sūtras as written documents, the author suggests that the Mahāyāna emphasis on the merit of copying out Mahāyāna sūtras was because early Mahāyāna was a purely lay movement, lacking specialists (monks) who had time to memorize, and so pass on, orally transmitted texts. In time, sūtras came to

be printed, as well as written out, in China. The oldest extant printed book, indeed, is a Chinese recension of the Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra (868 A.C.), while the oldest extant piece of printing is a Japanese dhāraṇī dating from approximately 767 A.C. The late tenth century saw the first printing of the complete Tripiṭaka in China, while the eleventh century saw the use of movable wooden type. The author describes the various editions of the Tripiṭaka printed by Chinese governments, and also in Japan.

The mid-nineteenth century saw the Japanese, under the influence of Western Orientalists, starting a historical study of the development of Buddhism. In particular, attention came to be focused on the previously neglected Āgamas (the equivalent of the Pali Nikāyas) and four translations of the Dharmapada in the Chinese Canon. As early as 1901, Japanese authors were arguing that the Mahāyāna sūtras might well have not been taught by the historical Buddha. Kōgen Mizuno himself holds that, while they cannot be shown to have been the Buddha's words, they 'merely explain in greater detail the many elements of Mahayana belief that are described but briefly in the Agama sutras' (p.132), with the Āgamas containing 'almost all the sources of Mahayana teachings' (p.32). As a result of their efforts, Japanese scholars have now compared all the Pali suttas with their Chinese equivalents. Japanese Pali scholarship also produced, in the six years from 1935, a complete Japanese translation of the Pali Canon and related Pali works: the 70-volume Nandan Daizōkyō, or 'Southern Route Canon'.*

A key fruit of Japanese comparative and critical study of Chinese editions of the Tripiṭaka is the 100-volume Taishō Daizōkyō, produced between the years 1924-34. This includes: sūtras and other texts translated from Indic languages into Chinese; texts recovered in the twentieth century from the Tun-huang caves; Chinese and Japanese commentaries, treatises and catalogues; and illustrated works on Buddhist art and images. Notes often supplement the Chinese text by giving Sanskrit and Pali parallels to the Chinese terms. It is not surprising, then, that the author

* See Kiyoshi Ota and Masataka Ikeda, 'Pali Buddhist Studies in Japan', *Pali Buddhist Review* 6, 1 (1981-2), pp.7-33.

describes this as 'incomparably larger and more definitive than any previous edition of the Buddhist Canon' (p.185). He also makes clear the great wealth of scriptural resources in Japan : including Sanskrit manuscripts, Chinese manuscripts and printed texts which were lost in the persecutions and wars of Chinese history. Japanese scholars also study the Tibetan, as well as the Chinese and Pali Canons. As great effort has and is being put into the study of these, there is clearly good reason for Western Buddhologists to learn Japanese, so as to share in the fruits of Japanese scholarship!

By way of criticism of the work, it is noted that, as the author intended it 'for the general reader' (I am not sure how realistic a goal this is), he has omitted all diacritical marks, in the body of the text, from Sanskrit and Pali words. This omission, though, is remedied in a Glossary-Index, as well as in the Appendix of titles of Scriptures and Catalogues in Sanskrit, Chinese, Pali, Japanese and English. It is noted, though, that the Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga* is still rendered as *Atthakavagga*, and (consequently?) is translated as the 'Meaningful Chapter' (p.114) rather than as the 'Chapter of Eight'. It is also noticeable that the author seems to associate the first schism with the time of Aśoka, and thus with the Third Council, rather than with the Second Council (pp.9 and 112). The work would also benefit from the addition of a bibliography. These comments aside, it is a useful and inspiring survey of the diffusion of the fundamental Buddhist texts.

Peter Harvey

(Dept. of Languages and Cultures,
Sunderland Polytechnic)

Gilgit Manuscripts. Nalinaksha Dutt. Vols I-IV repr. in 9 parts (Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Nos 13-19, 22-24), Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi 1984. Rs.1.080.

In May 1931 a group of boys watching their flocks in the vicinity of Gilgit in Kashmir uncovered the remains of an old stone-built structure. There is some doubt about the precise find-spot, but it seems likely to have been in the remains of an old Buddhist stūpa, or perhaps library, at or near Naupūr. Further diggings

by local villagers laid bare a circular structure containing a box full of Sanskrit manuscripts written on birchbark and paper. The importance of the find was soon realised, the "irresponsible excavation" was halted, and the Wazir of Gilgit took possession of the manuscripts.

By chance Aurel Stein passed through Gilgit on his return from Chinese Turkestan in June 1931, and was able to inspect the site and the relics recovered by the villagers. He made the news of the discovery known to the world by reports in the Indian press in July and *The Times* in September. A brief report on the find was published in *JRAS* (October 1931) and was reprinted in *The Indian Antiquary* (March 1932). This included information about the materials of the manuscripts, their scripts and their probable dates. The French Citröen Mission (to Afghanistan) under J. Hackin visited the site very soon after Stein, and obtained photographs of some manuscripts and a few fragments which S. Lévi edited in *JA* 1932 (pp.1-45), together with some folios sent to him by Stein. Other folios were sent by Stein to England.

Despite the early realisation of the value of the find, and the extensive publicity afforded to the discovery, little was done in the years immediately following. Calcutta University sent N. Dutt to Kashmir to examine the manuscripts, but he reported that the majority were still at Gilgit, and he had to be content with examining five which had been sent to Srinagar. He published details about these and summaries or transliterations in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* in 1932, 1933 and 1936. Lack of information about the other texts included in the find meant that no use could be made of them, and Dutt's edition of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (1934) made no reference to the Gilgit manuscript of that text (despite Das Gupta's statement to the contrary [see below]). Nor did Régamey refer to the Gilgit manuscript of the *Samādhirījasūtra* in his edition of three chapters of that text in 1938.

The Wazir of Gilgit sent the manuscripts to Srinagar, and there they remained for six or seven years locked up in the Government Records Office. It seems that a change of Prime Minister in Kashmir in 1938 led to a renewed interest in the manuscripts, and an expedition was sent to search for more manuscripts in

the area in that year. A report of its finds were published by M.S. Kaul Shastri in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* (1939). At about the same time Dutt was asked to edit the manuscripts which had been found in 1931, and in 1939 he published the first volume of *Gilgit Manuscripts*, with the aid of D.M. Bhattacharya and Shivanath Sharma. The volume contained a number of Mahāyāna and Shīvnath Sharma. The volume contained a number of Mahāyāna texts : Bhaiṣajyaguruśūtra, Ekādśasamukha, Hayaśrīvaidyā (these two texts had already been published by Dutt in IHQ (1936), Śrīmādhādevīvyākaraṇa (ed. A.C. Banerji), Ajitasenavyākaraṇa (ed. D.M. Bhattacharya), and Sarvatathāgatatāhīsthāna-sattvāloka-buddhakṣeṭrasandaśana-vyūha. To the volume was prefixed a long introduction giving information about the discovery of the manuscripts, a brief history of Buddhism in Kashmir, and summaries of the texts it contained. Volume II appeared in three parts in 1941, 1953 and 1954. It contained the Samādhirājasūtra, and was edited by Dutt with the aid of Shivanath Sharma. Volume III, containing the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, appeared in four parts in 1947, 1942, 1943 and 1950. Once again Dutt was aided by Sharma and, for Part 4, by D.M. Bhattacharya also. Volume IV was published in 1959. It contained four Mahāyāna texts : Mahāannipāta-rathakṣa-dhāraṇī-sūtra, Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ārya-buddha-balādhāna-prāthīhārya-vakurvāṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra and the Ārya Maitreya Vyākaraṇa. The last-named was edited by P.C. Majumdar. Once again Dutt was assisted in his edition of the first three texts by Sharma.

Meanwhile, because of the situation in Kashmir, the manuscripts which were preserved in the Srinagar Museum were taken to New Delhi in 1947 for safe keeping, and were stored in the National Archives there. Between 1959 and 1974 a facsimile edition of the manuscripts was published in the Sata-Pitaka Series (Vol. 10, 1-10) by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. The technical quality of the photographs, however, was not always of a high standard and, either by inadvertence or because they had been lost, some of the folios used by Dutt in his editions were not included, while others were given twice, and a number were misplaced.

It would seem that the finds made by the 1938 expedition, which were kept in the Sir Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar, were

not taken to Delhi in 1947, but remained in Srinagar, for Oskar von Hinüber was able in 1976 to inspect and photograph portions of two manuscripts of the Saṅghāṣasūtra which had been discovered in 1938, supplementing other manuscripts of this text which had been found in 1931 and edited in an unpublished Cambridge Ph.D dissertation by R.A. Gunatilaka. At the same time Professor von Hinüber discovered in the museum a palmleaf manuscript which had not been included in the report of the 1938 expedition, although presumably discovered at the same time. This proved, on investigation, to be a portion of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra, and his transliteration of this manuscript, with facsimile reproduction, was published by the Reiyukai Library (Tokyo 1982).

Besides the few folios which were sent to London and Paris by Stein, and a folio which was shown to Dutt in Bombay, other folios too became separated from the main body of the Gilgit manuscripts. When scholars began to examine them, it became clear that a number of texts were incomplete, while the folios which remained were in a jumbled state. This, and the total absence of the painted boards which were used to protect the manuscripts, showed that between the discovery of the manuscripts and their handing over to the Wazir a considerable amount of material had gone astray. It is possible that the fragments which Hackin sent to Lévi were obtained from some unauthorised source. In more recent years a number of the missing folios have come to light. Certain fragments of folios were sent to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute in 1940 for investigation, and in the *Annals* of the Institute for 1949 P.V. Bapat announced that these fragments were part of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. With a substantial number of other folios, they belonged to an army officer in Lahore, from whom they were purchased by G. Tucci on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, which entrusted them to him in 1956 for publication. The portions of the Vinaya, which proved to complement the folios published by Dutt, were edited by R. Gnoli in 1977-78, while other folios, containing sections of a Prajñāpāramitā text, have been edited by E. Conze. Another section of the Gilgit manuscripts, comprising 34 folios, was bought by the Scindia Oriental Institute in Ujjain, while a fragment is to be found in Poona. Four folios of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra, which from their appearance may well have come

from Gilgit (although no information is available about their provenance), were found in the Nepal National Bill Library, and were published by Zuirya Nakamura in 1970.

The publication of the *Gilgit Manuscripts* series by Dutt and his associates aroused great interest in the manuscripts, and their removal to Delhi and the subsequent publication of the facsimile edition made it possible for scholars all over the world to study these texts. As a result, a considerable number of them have now been edited and published. They include fragments of the *Prātimokṣa*, various *Karmavākya* or *Karmavācānā* texts, and examples of *Avadāna* literature, including the *Viśvāntarāvadāna*, to which a brief statement about the history of the Gilgit manuscripts is prefixed by the editor K. Das Gupta. There are also several portions of the *Śaddharmaṣūndarīkāśūtra*, which have been published by S. Watanabe and H. Toda.

It has become a major task for those working in this field to disentangle the often conflicting information which is available and to keep track of the editions which have been published. That task has been eased as a result of a very intricate piece of detective work carried out by von Hinüber, who in 1979 published a short monograph entitled 'Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften' (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Göttingen*, 1979, Nr. 12), in which he set out the contents and whereabouts of every portion of the Gilgit manuscripts known to him at that time, together with information about editions which have been published. Two supplements (in *ZDMG* 130 [1980], 25*-26* and 131 [1981], 9*-11*) gave further information, and clearly continual updating will be required. An edition of a fragment of the *Dharmaskandha* by S. Dietz has now appeared [2d.; see next review], and other scholars have announced their intention of editing various works.

The importance of the Gilgit manuscripts lies in the fact that they are the only Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, except for the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, found in India proper, the remainder known to us coming from Nepal, Tibet or Central Asia. Dutt is, therefore, almost justified in writing (*Gilgit Manuscripts* I, p. ii) that these are "the only Buddhist manuscripts discovered in India". The manuscripts are all written on paper or birchbark, except

for the one on palmleaf mentioned above, and are dated from their scripts variously between the fourth and sixth centuries although opinions differ about the precise dates. Most of the texts in the finds were previously known only in Chinese or Tibetan translations.

The four volumes (in nine parts) of Dutt's *Gilgit Manuscripts* have long been out of print, and have only been obtainable secondhand at greatly inflated prices. Thanks are due to Sri Satguru Publications for making them available again in a well-bound and well-printed form. The size of the printed page has been slightly reduced, with narrower margins and thinner paper than the first edition. In a uniform binding, in place of the varying bindings of the earlier publications, the result is a neat and attractive format. Criticism was rightly levelled against Dutt's editions as being made with insufficient care, so that use could be made of them only with extreme caution. There was, for example, little information about doubtful or illegible *aṣṭas*, although it was usually made clear which portions were conjectures based upon Tibetan and other versions. Now that the facsimile edition is available as a check upon Dutt's readings, it is possible to use his editions more confidently. They appeared too late for Edgerton to make much use of them for his *Dictionary and Grammar of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, so there is a need for an analysis of their vocabulary and grammar, and also for a translation of those works which have not yet been rendered into English. It is to be hoped that the publication of this reprint edition will increase interest in these very important texts and will inspire scholars to undertake these tasks.

K. R. Norman

(Faculty of Oriental Studies,
University of Cambridge)

Fragmente des Dharmaskandha - Ein Abhidharma-Text in Sanskrit aus Gilgit, Ed. Siglinde Dietz. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge*, 142. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1984. 104pp, 14 plates. DM 64.

In his *Buddhist Sects in India* (Calcutta 1970) Nalinaksha Dutt had

remarked (p.156) that in the colophon of the Chinese translation of the Dharmaskandha (Dhsk) this text was described as "the most important of Abhidharma works, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system". Dutt suggests that the Dhsk "appealed to the Chinese not for its subtlety and depth of philosophical discussions as for its comprehensiveness outlining the general course of spiritual training prescribed for a Buddhist monk. This work can also be paralleled to the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa" (ibid.). Comparing the Dhsk to the Visuddhimagga, however, does not seem very convincing. E. Frauwallner, on the other hand, has drawn attention to the remarkable and undeniable fact that the Dhsk, despite the different treatment of topics, closely coincides with the Vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka of the Pali tradition (cf. 'Abhidhamma-Studien, II. Die kanonischen Abhidharma-Werke', WZKS 8, 1964). Also in 'Die Entstehung der buddhistischen Systeme' (NAMG No.6, Göttingen 1971), Frauwallner underlines the importance of Abhidharma works ushering in, with first attempts at systemization, a new phase in the teaching tradition of Buddhism in the third century B.C. The Vibhaṅga, which Frauwallner considers one of the oldest Abhidharma works (ibid., 115(5)), and its Sanskrit parallel, the Dhsk, can be regarded as deriving from a common nucleus of both the Sinhalese Pali and the north-western Sarvāstivāda traditions dating back to the time before the Aśoka missions started about the middle of the third century B.C. (cf. ibid., 120(8)). In view of the great significance of these two texts, we are now very fortunate that Dr Dietz has made accessible to us by no means scanty fragments of the Dhsk from Gilgit.

In her prefatory remarks she states that the present edition of the Dhsk is based on a fragmentary MS deposited in the library of the Scindia Oriental Museum in Ujjain. Hitherto, only "a most unsatisfactory transcription and description" of this MS was accessible, published by Sudha Sengupta in her 'Fragments from Buddhist Texts' (see *Buddhist Studies in India*, ed. R. Pandeya, Delhi 1975, pp.137-83). For her critical edition Dietz utilized photos and dispositive kept in Göttingen and Berlin respectively. Moreover, it was possible for her to consult the original MS in the library of the Scindia Museum.

The book under review is divided into seven parts: description of the MS; on the Dhsk; the text of the fragments; concordance

to MS folios/Sengupta edition/Chinese translation; lists of quotations found in the Dhsk fragments; index of names and select terms; list of abbreviations with bibliographical notes. Parts 1 and 2 can be regarded as an introduction to part 3, the critical edition of the MS remains.

On p.9 we are informed that the Gilgit MS written on birch-bark contains thirty-four folios pertaining to three different texts: nineteen folios of the first text Jikido Takasaki had already identified in 1965 as Dhsk fragments; the second portion of nine folios was identified by Chandrabhālī Tripathī as belonging to the Ekottarāgama, and the third comprising six folios Dietz and Kazunobu Matsuda identified as being fragments of the Lokaprajñapti. Dietz's edition of the remains of this latter text will appear before long.

That the editress has studied the Dhsk fragments with all due care and competence is evidenced by her introductory parts. She deals meticulously with the script of the MS, with the state of preservation of the folios, orthographic peculiarities, peculiarities of *sandhi*, grammatical forms in Hybrid Sanskrit (with valuable material supplemental to Edgerton's *Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*), punctuation and usage of words. In part 2, on the Dhsk, Dietz refers to the Chinese translation of the text, which is the only version in which this Abhidharma work is preserved in its entirety. She also quotes Frauwallner's list (cf. the first of Frauwallner's writings mentioned above, pp.73-4) giving the topics treated in each of the twenty-one chapters of the Dhsk. In a footnote on p.16, Dietz states Frauwallner's viewpoint that the Saṃgītiparyāya is the oldest Abhidharma work of the Sarvāstivādins. She indicates that the latter text must certainly be younger than the Dhsk; for it is in the Saṃgītiparyāya that thirty-three quotations from the Dhsk occur. See, on the other hand, J.W. de Jong's review of V. Stache-Rosen's *Das Saṃgītisūtra und sein Kommentar Saṃgītiparyāya* in which he refers to Japanese authorities on the anteriority as well as posteriority of the Dhsk vis-à-vis the Saṃgītiparyāya (cf. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 69, 1/2, 1974, p.81, and G. Schopen, ed. *Buddhist Studies* by J.W. de Jong, Berkeley 1979, p.276).

Dietz concludes her introductory parts by discussing the

structure and contents of the fragments preserved in the original Sanskrit. Through a comparison of the length of the MS remains with that of the Chinese version, she has calculated that the MS from Gilgit corresponds to about 17.7% of the complete text in Chinese. The Gilgit remains comprise parts of three chapters in an order of succession differing, however, from that of the Chinese version, dealing with a) *prāṭīkṣasamutpāda*, b) *śikṣāpadāni* and c) *apramāṇāni*. Therein a considerable number of technical terms, subjects of instruction and psychic facts pertaining to the main topics are defined, and frequent explanations are given with the help of quotations from sūtras or vyākaraṇas. Apart from the Gilgit MS remains, a few quotations from the Dhsk are found in later Sanskrit treatises. These Dietz has also cited: three quotations found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (hereafter abbreviated *Bhāṣya*, all references to the Pradhan ed.), one in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (abbrev. *Vyākhyā*, Wogihara ed.) and one in the *Abhidharmadīpa*.

A good many footnotes in part 3 of the edition of the Dhsk fragments treat textual problems and interpretation, providing the editors' emendments or complements that are always carefully substantiated on the basis of the corresponding Chinese version consulted and its appended German translation. In addition, the critical notes indicate quotations and parallels found in Sanskrit and Pali sources or deal with metrical problems.

On p.22 is cited one quotation from the Dhsk occurring in the *Vyākhyā*. There is one more quotation from the same source at *Vyākhyā* 338, 30-31. This second one is closely related to the Dhsk quotation at *Bhāṣya* 184, 17-18 (185, 13-14) cited by Dietz on p.23, concerning the impossibility of two Tathāgatas appearing in the world simultaneously. The last sentence, p.184, line 18, *yathā tathāgata evaṃ cakravartināu itī*, both editors of the *Bhāṣya* (Pradhan and Dwarikadas) have marked as part of the quotation. That this is not correct is borne out by the corresponding passage in the Chinese Dhsk, in which the impossibility of two Cakravartins' simultaneous appearance in the world precedes, in analogous wording, that of the two Tathāgatas (in the Pali parallels it is vice versa) (cf. *Taishō* (T) 1537, p.502b11-16). Here in the Dhsk, we actually have a quotation from the *Bahudhātukasūtra* (cf. the Pali parallel at M III 65) which is

preserved in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T 26, pp.724c28-724a2). The Chinese text in the *Madhyamāgama* generally tallies with the Dhsk passage apart from minor differences in wording. The additional *Vyākhyā* quotation from the *Bahudhātukasūtra*, though not given in full against *Bhāṣya* 184, 17-18, runs: *asthāram anavakāśo yad apūrvācaramau dvaṃ cakravartināu* (Dwarikadas ed. : . . . *asthāram* *anavakāśo* *loka utpadyeṣyātīti*).

On pp.73-4 (175-v6) the Sanskrit text provides a definition of 'upāsaka'. In footnote 316 Dietz elucidates this definition as a sūtra quotation: she names all Pali parallels and a Chinese equivalent from the *Mahānāmasūtra* in the *Samyuktāgama*. She also cites the quotation from the *Mahānāmasūtra* as it occurs at *Bhāṣya* 215, 2-4 and which, accompanied by comments and abridged, is quoted again at *Vyākhyā* 376.9, 10, 31-32. She seems to consider different the two quotations as found in the Dhsk and *Bhāṣya/Vyākhyā* respectively. The quotation in the *Bhāṣya* differs, as she observes, from the Dhsk citation in three points: a) *Mahānāma* is addressed in the former text, b) the Dhsk has in addition *cittam utpādayati*, and c) for *upāsaka* the *Bhāṣya* reads *upavāsaka*. A. Hirakawa, however, regards *upavasaka* as a faulty reading at *Bhāṣya* 215.3, 4, 12 that should be corrected to *upāsaka* (Index to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Part 1, p.431) which is confirmed by *Bhāṣya* 241, 14 : *yadi sarva evopāsakā upāsakasamvarasthāḥ*. With regard to *cittam utpādayati* in the Dhsk quotation, we have to take into consideration the fact that textual discrepancies in quotations from the Āgamas or, e.g. the *Uddānavarga/Dharmapada* are due to varying recensions and linguistic preferences pertaining to the various Hīnayāna schools. Thus, while the name Gilgit is associated with the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, a large number of *Bhāṣya/Vyākhyā* quotations from 'canonical' scriptures are attributable to both the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* and *Sarvāstivādin* traditions. To clarify this point, one more important citation found in the Dhsk must be mentioned.

A quotation from the *Mahānāmasūtra* occurring on p.34, 18-35, 6 (Dhsk 6r5-r7) of Dietz's edition is of considerable relevance. There are several parallels to it explaining the meaning of *vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpaṃ*, two of which are cited in footnote 69 (D II 62,38 - 63,17; *Madhk* (Prasannapadā) 552). Another paral-

1el, though a rather short one, is given at Bhāṣya 131, 14 (III. 20) which again is quoted at greater length at Vyākhyā 669, 1-6. Although both the Dhsk and Vyākhyā quotations derive from the same source, the textual divergencies are substantial (e.g. Dhsk : *viññānaṃ ced ānanda mātuh kuksau nāvakkramiṣyad...* against Vyākhyā : *viññānaṃ ced ānanda mātuh kuksim nāvakrāmed...*). In the Chinese Āgama collections we find two parallels related to the passage under discussion, in the Dīrghāgama of the Dharmaguptaka school and in the Madhyamāgama generally attributed to the Sarvāstivādin tradition (cf. T 1, p.61b and T 26, p.579c). The Dharmaguptaka version of our passage is shorter than and differs from both the Pali and Sanskrit recensions. On the other hand, the Chinese Madhyamāgama version agrees with the Vyākhyā citation quite closely (details cannot be discussed here). For this reason, it seems plausible to conclude that the Bhāṣya/Vyākhyā citation belongs to the Sarvāstivādin tradition, whereas the Dhsk quotation has to be set apart as a Mūlasarvāstivādin recension. In other places, however, with many quotations found in the Bhāṣya and its commentary as handed down to us, it is often extremely difficult to draw the dividing line between Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin recensions.

Pp. 20. 34-35, 41; 57, footnote 214; 59, footnote 217 : *śīlavrataparāmarśa*, "Sich-Anklammern an [falsche] Sittengebote und Observanzen" (clinging to [wrong] moral precepts and observances). By adding "wrong" in brackets, Dietz interprets the explanation of this term in Dhsk in the light of the definition at Dhammasaṅgaṇī 1005 (the same is given in the Vibhaṅga) with reference to the wrong (*kummaggo, micchāpatho*) moral precepts and observances of non-Buddhist practitioners (*bahiddhā samanabrāhmaṇānaṃ*). Any worldling, however, whether a professing Buddhist or not, who practises meditation correctly according to the relevant discourses found in the Tripiṭaka, will have to be freed from the three "fetters", one of them being *śīlavrataparāmarśa*, in order to realize "entrance into the stream" (*srotaāpatti*). At Sammohavinodanī (Vibhaṅga-Atthakathā) 182, reference is made (*paṭhamam desitam*) to the "outer meaning" (lit. *olārika*) of *sīlabbatupādāna*. Then the "inner meaning" (*ante*) is stated : *sukhumattā ante attavādūpādānaṃ ti ayam etesaṃ desanākkamo*; and a few lines above, it says : *attagāhapubbaṅgamo sassatucchedābhiniṇvoso / tato "sassato*

ayam attā" ti gaṇhato attavisuddhāttham sīlabbatupādānaṃ. At Bhāṣya 282, 18-21, we find a similar explanation in a citation from the Jñānaprasthāna in which first, as it were, the "outer meaning" of *śīlavrataparāmarśa* is set forth in wording partly resembling that of the Dhsk quotation (cf. pp.57-8, 12v10-13r2). But the last sentence (Bhāṣya 282, 21), according to La Vallée Poussin's translation, runs : "Toutes ces manières de considérer comme cause ce qui n'est pas vraiment cause, il faut savoir que c'est *śīlavrataparāmarśa*, qui est à abandonner par la vue de la vérité de la douleur" (Abhid-k, V 20). Here *śīlavrataparāmarśa* is equated with a misapprehension of causality due to the erroneous views of permanence and personality (Abhid-k V, 8) (according to the Pali tradition, to be abandoned by various types of insight-knowledge such as *paccaya pariggaha ñāṇa*). The explanation of the Sammohavinodanī implies that clinging to "correct" moral precepts and observances has also to be understood as a manifestation of one of the subtler forms of ego-grasping to be given up. He who has realized "stream-entry" and is endowed with the "Noble Sīlas" (D III 227) must, of course, continue observing "correct" moral precepts and observances (one meaning of *vrata* is "[meaningful] course of conduct" or "practice"), yet without clinging to them, i.e. rid of the "fetter of believing in a real personality".

Misprints in Siglinde Dietz's work appear to be few. Hers is an excellent piece of philological work which, it is hoped, will be accorded due recognition and appreciation.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Addenda and Corrigenda

to S. Dietz, *Fragmente des Dharmaskandha*

This list of corrections and additions contains suggestions by Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen (Hamburg) and Fumio Enomoto (Kyoto), as well as my own observations.

Siglinde Dietz

Page	Line	Instead of	Read
9	4	Birkenhandschrift	Birkenrindenhandschrift
9	n.1,1.7	Kazunohu M a t u d a	Kazunobu M a t s u d a

Page	Line	Instead of	Read
26	12	avidāgato	avidyāgato
52	n.177,1.1	cāveksūvāms	cāveksavāms
53	3	pravīcayāya ()	pravīcayāya
53	5	tīvrāpramāḍās	tīvrāprasāḍās
53	8	pravīcayāya ()	pravīcayāya
53	10/11	*tīvatīvrāpramāḍās	*tīvatīvrāprasāḍās
53	13	pravīcayāya ()	pravīcayāya
56	6	bhāvati () tathāgataḥ	() bhāvati tathāgataḥ
56	7	bhāvati () tathāgataḥ	() na bhāvati tathāgataḥ
			param maraṇād (<)
56	15	mīthyā	mīthyā-
57	17	yāvac caiva	yāvan naiva
59	13	dr̥ṣṭayo (<)	dr̥ṣṭayo
60	8	prajñāpayeta	prajñāpayeta 224a
			n.224a: Lies: prajñāyeta.
63	22	vīharati()	vīharati
75	n.323,1.3 SN III		SN V
81	8	pryo-	prayo-
83	n.379,1.1	keine Pali- oder Sanskrit-	keine Sanskrit-
			add: Vgl. die Pali-Parallele in Sn 937:
		Samantam asaro loko, disā sabbā sameritā,	
		icchaṃ bhavanam attano nāddasāṃ anositam.	
85	14	śamasyatu	śamayati
87	3	r̥jukṛtvā	r̥ju kṛtvā
91	12		add: (Parallele in Suttanti-pāṭa)
95	b18	r̥jukr	r̥ju

The Philosophy of Nāgārjuna. Vicente Fatone. Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi 1981. 174 pp. Rs. 65.

Vicente Fatone held various posts in Argentina as a newspaper editor and academic specialising in philosophy and the history of religions. His interest in Indian philosophy, particularly

Buddhism, lasted for many decades, and the Spanish original of this book (*El Budismo Nihilista*) was first published in 1941. It is unfortunate that it has taken forty years for the present English translation of his work on Nāgārjuna to appear, since the intervening period has seen a considerable increase in scholarly study of the Madhyamaka school, during which time appreciation and understanding of the tradition has deepened and become more sophisticated. Professor Fatone's book relies (almost?) entirely on translations by Walleiser, Schayer, Stcherbatsky, de La Vallée Poussin and Tucci, great scholars who flourished during the first half of this century. Only in his Prologue to the Second Edition does he note the existence of Mutti's *Central Philosophy* and the first volume of Lamotte's *Traité*. Few of his sources date from later than the early 1930s.

Fatone's book expounds Madhyamaka arguments in some detail, usually through expansion of the relevant sections in the *Madhyamakakārikā* and *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. He treats Madhyamaka sympathetically, in a flowing style which sometimes makes it difficult to tell whether it is Nāgārjuna, some other Mādhyamika or Buddhist scholar, or sometimes one of Nāgārjuna's opponents who is arguing. He frequently fails to give adequate textual references for his assertions, and where he does the reader is not helped by the fact that numbers do not always tally with footnotes! Fatone places the Madhyamaka squarely in the context of Abhidharma philosophy, and occasionally makes references to Hindu and Western systems (particularly interesting in the latter context is the parallel argument against atoms in Buddhism and in Pascal (p.160)). Notwithstanding his limited sources, dated from our contemporary perspective, the author has clearly read widely among those sources, contemplated and generally, I think, understood them reasonably well (in spite of his modest claim that 'we do not pretend to have always interpreted the thought with accuracy' (p.1)). He sees the Madhyamaka as having extended the application of the Buddha's original unanswered points (*avyākṛtāvastūni*) to all judgements (p.21), 'instead of building a system he (Nāgārjuna) opted for an attitude, the suspension of judgement' (p.144; italics in the original). Nāgārjuna's 'absence of inherent existence (*nābhavabhāvatā*) is taken by Fatone as equalling ultimately nonexistence, that is, really nonexistence. Conventional

truth (*samvṛtisatya*) is given as 'superficial truth' a position of 'as if' - one proceeds as if the Four Noble Truths and Dependent Origination were true.

Much of this is debatable, and could be debated from within the Buddhist tradition itself. Tsong kha pa, for example, would criticise Fatone for failing to clarify what exactly is being refuted, and stress what *does* exist, the way things do exist. Existing conventionally is not pretending to exist, but existing in a particular way, the only way things can exist, existing without *inherent* existence. Central to Tsong kha pa's Madhyamaka, and noticeable in its omission from Fatone's, is an extensive discussion of the two *satyas*, the meaning of ultimate and conventional truth. Moreover, like so many earlier Western scholars of Madhyamaka, in stressing that Nāgārjuna 'opted for an attitude, the suspension of judgement' Fatone trivialises the context of Nāgārjuna's philosophising both in terms of the bodhisattva path and actual monastic and meditative religio-moral practice. There is no mention or clue how this philosophy might operate as a system of spiritual praxis. Here in particular, I think, much progress has been made in the last forty years.

The dust-jacket tells us that 'until Fatone wrote this book it was thought that Nāgārjuna was a nihilist... (But)... he (Nāgārjuna) believes in the existence of one single substance which is the world *sub specie aeternitatis*'. Now, this is all quite absurd! Fatone certainly opposes the 'nihilist' interpretation of Nāgārjuna, but he is fully aware that he was not the first to do so. The notion of 'one single substance' is also emphatically opposed by Fatone (p.144). Unfortunately, he is a victim of misprints. In his Prologue he states that 'we do agree with the interpretation... that nothing exists except 'one single substance' ...' (pp.1-7). But it is clear from the rest of the book that this is not what Fatone holds, and therefore the text should presumably read 'we do not agree...'. Whoever wrote the dust-jacket had only read the Prologue (or perhaps he was distracted by a visitation. The jacket also says that Fatone died in 1962, in spite of the fact that the Prologue to the Second Edition is dated 1968!). On p.19 too, we are told that an Arhat 'shall be born again in any of the worlds'. Again, on p.95, 'the nega-

tion of his thesis does make any sense'. Presumably a judicious 'not' should be added in both cases. Sometimes it is unclear whether we have misprints, unskilled translation from the Spanish, or mistakes by Fatone himself. Thus :

p.16 - in the first *jñāna* 'objects do not cause voluntary phenomena' - 'volitional' better?

p.43 - Madhyamakakārikā 1:1 - 'Nothing is born by itself' - should read 'from itself'.

p.95 - 'Thus begins the criticism of the antagonist...' This is ambiguous in English. It should read 'by the antagonist'.

p.117 - 'There is no negation possible of that which does not absolutely exist' - read 'of that which absolutely does not exist'.

It is unclear to me whether Fatone reads Sanskrit or not. He almost invariably refers to well-known translations. However, there is at least one apparent exception. On p.161, he offers a translation from Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* on 15:2 which differs from the translation by Schayer to which he had access. The reference is to Louis de La Vallée Poussin's Sanskrit edition. Unfortunately it is mistranslated, and it too appears to be missing a 'not' ('which does not exist after having not existed').

It is the job of a reviewer to be critical, and this book has some definite faults (in part those of Fatone's sources and publishers). In spite of these limitations, however, I rather liked the book. Our author shows enthusiasm for his subject, and by and large refrains from superimposing on the Madhyamaka his own preconceived ideas of what it is all about. He tries as far as possible to expound the texts and let them speak for themselves. It is good that Fatone places the material in its philosophical (although unfortunately not in its religious and anthropological) context. The book certainly says nothing very new, although it may have been worth saying at the time and in the context in which Fatone wrote it. As it is, with mindfulness of its limitations, this is nevertheless still a useful introduction to Madhyamaka philosophy.

Paul Williams

(Dept. of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Bristol)

Die Buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens. Siglinde Dietz. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert (Asiatische Forschungen, Band 84). Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1984. XV + 590 pp. DM 220.

In the Buddhist literature the *lekha* 'letter' is a literary genre which seems to have been popular since Nāgārjuna in the second century A.C. The Tibetan Tanjur contains thirteen letters, nine of which are edited and translated by Dr Dietz. She has omitted Nāgārjuna's *Suhrillekha*, Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha* and Mātreceta's *Mahārājakanīṣṭhalekha*, which have already been edited and translated. Dietz intends to publish the text and translation of Padma-vajra's *Prajālekhā* in a future publication.

The letters in this volume contain doctrinal, moral and political teachings. Most of them are addressed to lay followers and are mainly concerned with instructing them in correct moral behaviour. Two of the letters in this volume were probably written in Tibetan: *Buddhaguhyā*'s and *Śrīghoṣa*'s letters to the Lord of Tibet and his subjects. *Buddhaguhyā* is a well-known Tantric scholar. He was invited to Tibet by King Khri sroñ lde btsan who reigned from 755 to 797. In his letter he gives some interesting information on the genealogy of the Tibetan king and the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. The author of the second letter, *Sba Dpal dbyaṅs* (*Śrīghoṣa*), was one of the first seven Tibetans ordained in 779 by *Sāntarakṣita* in the monastery *Bsam yas*. In his letter *Sba Dpal dbyaṅs* addressed himself to the king in the second chapter, to the ministers in chapter 4.2 and to the ecclesiastics in chapter 4.3. Other chapters are addressed to all Tibetans. Among the authors of the other letters, we also find some well-known scholars such as *Jitāri*, who lived in the second half of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. His *Cittaratnavaiśodhanakramalekha* is addressed to a king who is not identified. His famous pupil *Atīśa*, whose life and activities are well-known thanks to the studies published by Helmut Eimer in recent years, is the author of a letter entitled *Vimalaratnalekha*, addressed to King *Niryaṣpāla*, a *Pāla* king known in the Indian tradition under the name *Nayapāla*. *Kamalaśīla*, the author of the *Madhyamakāloka*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha*-*pāñjikā* and other philosophical works, wrote the *Bhukhaviśeṣanir-*

deśa for a Tibetan called *Lho za mo Tshaṅs p'aṣ dbyaṅs* about whom nothing is known. *Kamalaśīla* came to Tibet at the invitation of King *Khri sroñ lde btsan*. *Sajjana*, the author of a letter to his son '*Putralekha*', is known as a translator of *Vijñānavāda* texts and lived in the eleventh century. *Mitrayogin*, who sojourned for eighteen months in Tibet around the year 1200, addressed a letter, entitled *Candrarājalekha*, to a King *Candra*, probably a King of *Vārāṇasī*. A letter addressed to a monk, *Rab gsal gñon nu*, is attributed to the *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*. Another letter, the *Gurulekha*, is written by a monk, *Dgon pa pa*, who is perhaps identical with a *Dgon pa pa* from *Kāśmīr* who lived in the eleventh century.

In the first part of her work Dietz carefully examines the letters one by one and discusses the identity of the author of each, the addressee, its occasion and purpose, the nature of its contents, the date of writing, and the sources used by the author. In a special chapter she studies the characteristics of the *lekha* as a literary genre and also analyses the *parikathās* and *nirdeśas* which are included in the same section of the Tanjur. The main part of her work contains the edition of the Tibetan text of the letters, on the basis of four Tanjur editions, and an annotated translation. The notes discuss difficult expressions and reproduce the sources quoted in the letters. Extremely useful are the detailed indices: an index of quotations, a list of German translations of Buddhist terms, lists of Sanskrit terms, Tibetan words, Indian names and Tibetan names. The bibliography occupies no less than twenty-three pages.

Dr Dietz's work is a major contribution to both Buddhist and Tibetan studies. She has taken great pains to identify the quotations and to determine the meaning of words and expressions. Most of the letters are written in verse and it is not always easy to translate Tibetan versions of Sanskrit verses in the absence of the original text. Even more difficult to translate are the letters written directly in Tibetan, because the Tibetan language of that period is not very well known. Further study of these letters will certainly lead to different interpretations in several places. It will also be necessary to try to trace the sources used by the authors which have not been identified by Dietz. For instance, in verses 4 and 5 of chapter 4 of the

Gurulekha, the author enumerates twenty-four synonyms of the impurities (*klesā*). These synonyms are listed in the same order in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (ed. P. Pradhan, Santiniketan 1950, p.44, 15-18). Pradhan's text enumerates only twenty-three items but, as pointed out by Walpola Rahula in his translation, one must add *upāyāsā* after *paridāhā* (Le *compendium de la super-doctrine* (philosophie) (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*) d'Asanga, Paris 1971, p. 71, note 3). Very similar to this list is the one found in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (ed. V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta 1957, pp.166-7). With the help of these two lists it is possible to correct the edition of the Tibetan text and the translation. The third verse of the letter by Avalokiteśvara contains several difficulties. Avalokiteśvara writes that the way which all munis have gone is 'subtle, difficult to understand and beyond the domain of words'. Dietz's interpretation of this line is different: 'die-ser Weg... nicht Bereich subtiler und schwer zu begreifender Worte ist'. The real difficulty is in the third line: *phyogs tsam roq pas sgro brags rgyal ba'i mthus brjod na*. Dietz sees in this line an allusion to the philosophy of Dignāga and translates: 'wenn [man ihn dir] mit der Kraft eines siegreichen [Buddha] erklärt, nachdem man ihm mittels des Bildens von Vorstellung nur einen Aspekt beigelegt hat?' Probably *phyogs tsam* renders Sanskrit *dīpācra* 'a mere indication'. *Sgro brags* is a philosophical term for attributing reality to something which is not real. Here it must have a more general meaning, such as 'to imagine'. The author says that he explains the way with the help of the Jina after having imagined having understood a mere indication of its real meaning. In *Cittaratnaviśodhanakramalekha* 4.3.3, it is said that one must successively practise compassion (*sñā rje*), joy (*dga' ba*) and equanimity (*brañ sñoms*). These are the second, third and fourth of the four infinitudes (*apramāṇa*). The first is kindness (*byams pa*) and the text explains that it is impossible for compassion to act if one has not first paid attention to kindness: ... *byams pa yid la ma byas par ... sñā rje ga la 'jug ste*. This passage has been misunderstood by Dietz (cf. p.177). Another passage which can be interpreted differently is *Sārasaṅgrahalekha* 4.3.15, where the text says that one must listen to somebody who has meditated a little even if he is not learned (*thos pa mañ po*; Sanskrit *bahuśrūta*). Dietz ren-

ders *thos pa mañ po* with 'wenn das Gehörte nicht viel ist'.

These few remarks show that it is possible to arrive here and there at different interpretations, but they are not in the least meant to diminish the merit of Dr Dietz's achievement, for which one can have nothing but praise.

J.W. de Jong

(Dept of S. Asian and Buddhist Studies,
The Australian National University,
Canberra)

Buddhist Formal Logic. A study of Dignāga's *Hetucakra* and K'uei-chi's Great Commentary on the *Myśyapraśaṅga*. R.S.Y. Chi. Royal Asiatic Society, London 1969; revised edition, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1984. lxxxii + 222 pp. Rs. 100.

To open a book on Dignāga's system of logic and find it full of tables of figures and other symbols is an intimidating experience if you are not familiar with the techniques of twentieth-century symbolic logic. However, if you are ready for this sort of treatment you will find the book a treasure both of symbolic logic and of Buddhist thought. In a way it is as if the author wanted to produce a study of the principal systems of modern symbolic logic, comparing them, relating them to each other and even developing them to further lengths of subtlety, using Dignāga as material on which to produce their application. A very good and striking example of his methods is the list of sixteen Venn diagrams on p.58 illustrating the sixteen possible relations between two classes - inclusion, exclusion, overlap combined with the possibilities of being empty or not empty - classes filling between them or not filling between them the whole field of enquiry. Reference is even made to two empty classes in an empty field of enquiry, perhaps in one sense incubi and familiars as classes of evil spirits. The number sixteen is arrived at by pure mathematical necessity once the Venn diagram is accepted as a good symbol for two related classes. The author then goes on to show how many of these relations are found in Dignāga's and other systems of formal logic and how far they are properly distinguished. The mathematically minded will appreciate the beauty of his devices and the clarity of his tables.

One principle of Indian logic, very strange to European thought but very revealing of the weakness of all formal logic, and quite inexpressible in symbolic systems, is that an argument valid in one context can be invalid in another, because if the premises are not accepted by both parties the argument fails though it may be cogent enough in itself. I would go even further myself and wonder whether any word or phrase expressive of a concept expresses the same concept twice. Mathematical symbols are free from this stumbling block. You do not find people arguing fiercely as to what are the factors of 210, because the word 'factor' and the symbol '210' always mean the same. But try to express in symbolic logic the arguments that lead a Jew to become a Zionist and then see how convincing they are to a Palestinian Muslim Arab!

Dignāga's *Hevucakra* or Wheel of Reason, which is what this book is about, would seem to be absurdly short for an exposition of a whole system of formal logic, occupying little more than one page. Even Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* is longer than that and no-one has attempted such an economical exposition of a philosophical statement in modern times. Presumably it was meant as a mnemonic like the mediaeval 'Barbara, Celarent, etc.' summary of Aristotle's system, which would be pretty mysterious if you did not know that A, E, I, O stood for four different types of propositions, and the order of these vowels, chosen for their rhythm, not their dictionary meaning, stood for different types of syllogisms, each with its major premise, minor premise and conclusion in that order. 'All men are mortal, we are men, we are mortal' for instance. Dignāga's order is different. He starts with the conclusion or fact to be proved, then comes the minor premise and the major premise is left to the end for a five stage test. It is after all the major premise we are principally relying on. It goes something like this: Sound is impermanent because it is produced, but are all impermanent things produced? Things like pots are produced and are impermanent, while things like space, which is not produced, are ~~not~~ permanent; so we are on the right track - impermanence is found in produced things, but not in unproduced ones - so the argument is valid and we can use the words Pot, Space as the name of this kind of argument. Using as far as possible the same concepts he finds

nine different types of argument, and gives them their conventional names. Only two of them come out as valid. Dr Chi then has to show that both systems and all other systems follow the same pattern, namely 'A has a certain relation to B and B has a certain relation to C, allowing A to have a certain relation to C', and he has to show what relations are possible and which sets of three give a valid argument, and how many of these possible sets are covered by Aristotle and how many by Dignāga. This he does brilliantly and exhaustively.

Even without a prior familiarity with symbolic systems of logic, as each symbol is explained as it occurs, it is quite possible to follow the arguments. Indeed the book, comparing as it does different systems, could be used simply as a text-book of symbolic logic, reducing the examples from Buddhist logicians to a subordinate role.

Alban Cooke
(Headmaster and tutor (retired),
Ramsbury, Wiltshire)

Fragments from Dignāga. H.N. Randle. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1981. xii + 93 pp. Rs. 40.

These fragments from Dignāga, being quotations from his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* in the original Sanskrit, by Vācaspati Miśra, are invaluable clues to Dignāga's exact thought, as the work is otherwise only available to the modern scholar in Chinese and Tibetan translations. They are used in this book to elucidate his position in Buddhist philosophy in relation to other nearly contemporary writers, both with regard to his date and to the development of his thought, questions by no means yet satisfactorily answered. What Randle does is to take each quotation, first in the original Sanskrit and then in his English version, followed by an examination of its meaning and importance in finding answers to these questions. Appendix I then analyses further the evidence thus garnered. Appendix II sketches briefly, for the better understanding of his book, Buddhist logical doctrines under the headings: Perception, Inference, Fallacies, Inference for Another and Validity.

Although in fact this was first published as a monograph by the Royal Asiatic Society (London 1926) and formed part of

the author's doctoral dissertation, 'Indian Logic in the Early Schools' (published by Oxford University Press, London 1930), it is still a useful work for advanced students.

Alban Cooke

Development of Buddhist Ethics. G.S.P. Misra. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1984. xii + 184 pp, appendix, bibliography and index. Rs. 80.

Existing studies of Buddhist ethics are by and large confined to the Theravāda system and have suffered from a lack of perspective in terms of the pattern of development within the tradition as a whole. This defect is mitigated to some extent in the present volume. The work must be commended for broadening out the study of Buddhist ethics to include chapters on the psychological analysis of ethical data in the Abhidharma (Ch.3) and the moral values of the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva (Ch.5). A final chapter (Ch.6) explores the transcendence of ethical values in the Tantric systems. The author defines his objective as follows :

'The present work seeks to study Buddhist ethics as a developmental process not only in terms of inner dynamics inherent in its doctrinal and ethical formulations but also in terms of its response to various historical compulsions and the ensuing willingness on the part of its followers to introduce into its general framework novelties of forms and expressions' (p.ix).

Yet although Misra locates his subject matter in an expanded philosophical and historical context, he provides little in the way of a novel theoretical interpretation of the data. Much of the material which is presented is not original and it receives no new treatment from the author. The discussion of the Abhidharma in Chapter 3 admittedly 'makes evident the close relationship between psychology and ethics as it was conceived in Buddhism' (p.69), but fails to integrate its conclusions into a coherent theoretical scheme. And Chapter 6, while recognising the new ethical dimension introduced by the Mahāyāna, avoids discussion of the problematical ethical implications of *upāya*.

In a brief attempt at theoretical classification Misra contrasts Intuitionism with Ideal Utilitarianism and identifies Buddhism with the former :

'It would be well to make here a brief comparison between two diametrically opposed systems of ethical thought, viz., Intuitionism and Ideal Utilitarianism, and then to see the Buddhist position in this regard. The former is identified with the Kantian system of ethics. [...] Buddha would obviously belong to the Intuitionist school of ethical thought' (p.43).

Misra is correct here in recognising the proximity of Buddhism to Kantian principles rather than to utilitarian ones. Unfortunately, he does not develop this point further, and his general stance on the instrumental role of ethics seems at variance with the above conclusion. In fact, the following comments, made only a few pages later, seem to suggest the reverse position, i.e. that Buddhist ethics is utilitarian and not intuitionist :

'The perfect man is uncontaminated not only by evil or vice but also by good or virtue. Perfection knows no dualism. It is a disposition of mind in which good and evil both become equally undesirable [...] In the Buddhist texts this transcendence of *dharma* in the final stage finds enunciation by way of the parable of Raft' (sic) (p.46f).

A number of problems are touched upon but left unresolved. On the relationship between ethics and the *summum bonum*, the author follows what might be termed the 'transcendancy thesis' :

'The *Dharma* of Buddha was practical and dynamic, it was *was* [sic] also mystical. True to its mystical form, it presented an intermixture of religion and ethics as an inseparable pair, the latter being not an end in itself but a means leading to a higher stage which was a state of complete transcendence' (p.30, my emphasis).

Yet Misra seems in some confusion about this since only two pages earlier he differs from the above view and misquotes Anesaki with approval on the non-instrumental relationship between morality and wisdom :

'Conduct and intuition are inseparably united; they form an essential pair, each performing its specific part with the help of the other. "Morality", remarks M. Anesaki, "is [sc. not] merely a means to perfection [...] it is an integral part of the perfection..."' (p.28).

Overall, the book must be commended for its scope and for rising occasionally to the discussion of theoretical issues and problems. In the end, however, too many problematic issues are avoided or go unrecognised and the opportunity to elaborate a structural model of the tradition is missed.

Damien Keown
(Religion Department,
Goldsmiths' College,
University of London)

Ed. Additions to the bibliography in *Buddhist Studies Review* 1, 2 (1983-4), p.192 ff.

P. Antes et al. *Ethik in nichtchristlichen Kulturen*, Stuttgart 1984.

Ananda W.P. Gurugé 'Some Problems in Buddhist Ethics' (repr. in his *The Miracle of Instruction*, Colombo 1982).

C.H. Ratschow (ed.) *Ethik der Religionen: ein Handbuch*, Stuttgart 1980.

A Comparative Study of Jainism and Buddhism. ✓
Brahmacari Sital Prasad. Madras 1932, repr. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica No.7, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi 1982. xxiii + 304 pp. Rs. 80.

Nobody will doubt that there are many similarities between Jainism and Buddhism and that there are very few comparative studies of the two religions and hence, perhaps, the justification for a second edition of an older book in an unchanged form. In fact there are not that many publications on Jainism as such, which contrasts sharply with the abundance of literature on Buddhism, both popular and academic. Probably the best comprehensive and scholarly book on Jainism which is at the same time very readable even for laymen is Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus. Eine indische Erlösungsreligion* (Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim 1964, a reprint of the original 1923 edition). I am not aware of any comparable book in English, but the entry under

'Jainism' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (from the pen of H. Jacobi) can still be regarded as highly informative, competent and preferable to most if not all passages on Jainism in books on world religions published since.

The book does not disclose much information about its author, but it is obvious that he was involved in the Jain movement. His name at the end of the Introduction has the designation Jain attached to it and the tenor of the book testifies to his allegiance. He seems to have been based in Surat, India.

He starts his book on a subjective note. In the Introduction he says that having read some Buddhist works in Pali, some in English translation and some secondary English literature on Buddhism, he noticed that early Buddhism resembled Jainism in many respects, and so he went to the Vidyalankara College in Kelaniya, Ceylon, in May 1932 and spent a month there learning about Pali Buddhism. He then visited some other Buddhist localities to study Buddhist ways and customs. The result was his decision to write the present book, in which he would show the similarities between the two religions, mainly by quoting relevant passages from their religious literature.

Right from the beginning, we are left in no doubt that the author regards the early Buddhist teachings as derivative and based on the older Jain tradition. He points out that when Gotama left home he adopted the life of a naked ascetic like the Jain *digambaras* ("those who are clad in space") and when he later proclaimed the Middle Way he changed to wearing clothes, although he did not change the philosophy, anticipating thereby the later schism in the Jain community concerning the attitude of renunciation (even before Mahāvīra himself started preaching), which led to the adoption of white robes by *śvētāmbaras*.

Acknowledging that the passages in the Pali Canon in which Mahāvīra is referred to as Nigantha Nācaputta testify to a certain rivalry between Jains and Buddhists, at least at the time of its compilation in the first century B.C. (given wrongly as A.D. by the author) in Ceylon, he dismisses all unfavourable Buddhist descriptions of Jain views as proven wrong by proper consultation of relevant passages in Jain literature. He further quotes some passages from Pali sources, Western scholars and

authors of Jain persuasion to show that the Jain teaching was well established in India even before the Buddha and Mahāvīra started their respective missions, and that it also reached Ceylon before or at the same time as Mahinda brought Buddhism there. Jainism and early Buddhism are the same thing to him and he revives the view of J.G.R. Forlong (*Science of Comparative Religions*, 1877) that the Buddha of some of the Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese sources, which date him to the eleventh-ninth centuries B.C., must have, in fact, been the predecessor of Mahāvīra, the Jain saint Pārśva.

Many more instances of literary, geographical and archaeological evidence are quoted in support of the author's thesis of the identity of Jainism and early Buddhism. He calls the original presumed teaching *Jain-Bodhism*.

The book consists of six chapters and the first one goes straight to the heart of the matter, being concerned with "Nirvana, Moksha and Liberation". The author interprets Nirvāṇa as "extinction of the mundane condition" and Mokṣa as "liberation from the same", strongly refuting the interpretation of the former as total annihilation and stressing its positive meaning which, however, he is unable to define otherwise than "a positive condition of the soul" which is, of course, indescribable. He does quote, though, many instances of indirect descriptions of Nirvāṇa as blissful and full of knowledge. His equation of the status of the Tathāgata or the Arahant monks with the status of the inner self or the souls of those who have reached their goal comes across clearly when he quotes from writings of Jain saints who used Upaniṣadic terminology adapted to their purposes. Here we find the same ambiguity about the meaning of ātman as the inner universal self and as the individual liberated self often translated as "soul" which became current in later Hindu and modern Western literature on the subject, both academic and popular.

The problem of soul or self apart, there is no doubt that the wealth of quotations from the Pali Canon, commentaries, the *Vibuddhimagga* and even a few Mahāyāna sūtras, as well as from writings on Buddhism both in the East and the West, compared with numerous quotations from the Jain literature, demonstrate

that most terms used to explain what Nirvāṇa is about are shared by both religions or philosophies and so is the word itself.

The tricky question of the "Existence of the Soul" is the subject of the second chapter. The author admits that "the Buddhist literature does not contain an explicit description of the soul", but opines that "if it is minutely searched, it will be found to contain enough to show that the Buddhist conception of the nature of the soul is the same as described in the Jain literature". We search, however, in vain for the proof of this statement anywhere in this chapter. The author's conclusion is purely and simply his interpretation of the Buddhist passages in which constituents of human personality are described as not mine and not self (*anatta*), or in which the Buddha maintains the so-called "noble silence" about the nature of the Tathāgata or the liberated one. The reasoning behind it is this: if nothing that can be apprehended is self, i.e. if anything that can be apprehended is not self, then the self is thereby being described by implication as a conscious substance, a pure self or soul which remains when the non-self constituents of the person have been destroyed or abandoned. The only difference is that the Buddhist literature simply does not take up subtle questions of metaphysics and deals mostly with matters easily understood by ordinary people, so that they may try to tread the path and eventually reach the same goal as can also be had through subtle metaphysics. Gradually even they in due course obtain that subtle understanding.

These are bold views, indeed. But we are treated to more: The traditional Jain view of the Buddha's teaching on soul, according to the author, is that the soul has the attribute of both permanent existence and changeability. "From the point of view of its nature, the soul is indestructible, while at the same time from its liability to change it is destructible. This is true of every existing substance in the universe". This is also exactly what the author presents as the Jain teaching on soul. The approach to the problem in Jain literature uses two standpoints, "the real and the practical". From the real standpoint, the soul is free from karmic bondage and anything else. It is pure and its nature is that of Nirvāṇa. It is immaterial, uncre-

ated and eternal. It has perception and is always conscious and full of knowledge. It is perfect, one and the home of bliss.

According to the practical point of view of the soul, its impure and incomplete conditions are caused by karmic bondage and contact with the body and other objects. "All this description of the soul from the practical standpoint does almost agree with that of the five *skandhas* of the Buddhists", surmises the author (p.93). But it represents, of course, much more than that due to the explicit nature of Jain expositions :

The soul has, in the Jain view, nine characteristics : It (1) is living, (2) has conscious attentiveness, (3) is non-material and (4) is the doer of actions as well as (5) the enjoyer of the fruits of actions, (6) has the size of the body it occupies, (7) wanders in the world in four conditions of life : celestial, hellish, subhuman and human, (8) can become liberated and (9) has the natural tendency to go upward when liberated. At the end of the chapter, the author makes another truly bold statement when he proclaims that if *Nirvāṇa* is not annihilation, but a positive condition of existence, it must be taken to be nothing else but the pure soul as described in Jainism. What can we say about this kind of reasoning? Perhaps simply that here we have just one of many examples, abundant in the book, which show how innocent the author is of the conceptual sophistication of Buddhist formulations.

The third chapter, entitled "The Path of Nirvana or Liberation", is the longest. Again using mainly quotations, it presents the Buddhist Eightfold Path, with elaborations on its individual parts so that a fairly comprehensive and, on the whole, tolerable picture of the bulk of Buddhist practice leading to the final goal is given. But then the author baffles us again by stating that the Jain Threefold Path is contained in the Eightfold Path and vice versa, and proceeds to present the Jain path in a way which shows a completely different stance from the Buddhist one. Thus, for example, the Jain idea of right view requires the acceptance of the belief in seven principles, among them soul (*jīva*) and non-soul (*ajīva*) which would be anathema to any Buddhist. The metaphysical teaching on karmic molecules and the bondage of the soul weighed down by karmic matter is

another example of a doctrine hardly compatible with any Buddhist school's ideas.

This is not to say that there are not to be found numerous instances of agreement between the two systems of practical effort on the way to liberation from the round of rebirths, but the substantial doctrinal differences are nonchalantly glossed over by the author so as to render his comparisons virtually worthless. It does not appear at all profitable to go into more details here.

Chapter Five on "Karmas and their Fruits" is yet another elaborate example of the fruitless approach, expanding on what was already anticipated on the subject in Chapter Four. The care with which the Buddhist sources avoid unnecessary speculation about the metaphysical nature of the karmic forces is viewed by the author as an absence of a clear, direct and detailed description which the Buddhist writers had in mind but only the Jain authors managed to spell out. A metaphysician, he maintains, can acquire this knowledge and so one should study the subject "calmly and carefully".

The sixth chapter, on "Ahimsa", is perhaps the least controversial. The author again quotes numerous passages and concludes, quite generously, that Ahimsā has been correctly described in Buddhist texts. As to meat eating permitted to Buddhist monks provided they did not see, hear or suspect that an animal was killed on their account, he does not give much credence to the Pali sources in this respect because of their late codification in Ceylon. Instead he quotes extensively from the eighth chapter of the *Laṅkāvatīraśāstra*, in his eyes written specifically in reply to those Pali passages which sanction meat eating, where this practice is prohibited as obstructive to liberation. It is, I think, generally known that the Jain attitude to killing and injury is much stricter than the Buddhist one even to the point of impracticability. The author, in fact, in his conviction that early Buddhism stems from pre-Mahāvīra Jainism detects all stricter Jain rules as implicit in Buddhist sources and advises the followers of the Buddha to adopt this strict avoidance of meat eating, since its practice cannot have been approved by the Buddha who was friendly to all creatures.

The last chapter, "Why Jainism and Buddhism are the Same", again draws attention to the period of severe asceticism in Gotama's life during which he went about without clothes like Jain *digambaras* and followed various other rules known from the Jain ascetic code. When he proclaimed his Middle Way he, in fact, embraced the rules as applicable to the Jain *brahmacāri śrāvakas*, i.e. practising Jain laymen. But the author also acknowledges the practices of *śvetāmbaras* as valid and allowing the highest achievement, and so the Buddhist monks' prospects are good, too. What a relief!

The practices of popular Jainism and Buddhism have also been found by the author to be very similar or identical, but above all both religions agree on important tenets of philosophy. Everyone is responsible for his own advancement; *Samsāra* or the universe is without an end or beginning and without a God creator; the experiences of beings are products of their own karma; the way to saintliness is through endurance and solitary meditation, and *Nirvāṇa* cannot be achieved if home life is not abandoned. So whoever wishes freedom from misery must follow the Eightfold Path of Buddhism or the Threefold Path of Jainism.

This is not a scholarly work and there are many deficiencies in it even from the point of view of popular literature. It is, however, a good reminder to us that the study of Jainism has been neglected for too long and that the question of the mutual relation between the two teachings deserves competent treatment.

In broad terms one can say that the two religions have much in common in their attitude to Vedism and Brahmanism, in their ethical outlook and practices, in their practical philosophy of life and its final desirable goal and also in the means to be adopted in the pursuit of that goal. However, they differ widely in doctrinal formulations and interpretations. Early Buddhism is much more sophisticated in its skilful avoidance of definite speculative assertions about the nature of both *samsāric* realities, if one may use that term, and the *nirvāṇic* achievement. Followers are encouraged to use their judgment and, although they have to have a measure of confidence in the teaching in order to put it to practical test, faith in fixed tenets

is never required nor proclaimed to be useful. The later development of Buddhist schools of thought has to be regarded as an example of impressive philosophical work in epistemology, logic and metaphysics of the highest standard, regardless of whether we value or deplore such activity.

Against this has to be put the attitude of early Jainism which somehow plunged headlong into positive assertions, often of a crude nature, about all elements of existence, both conditioned and absolute, and therefore requires from its followers acceptance through faith and many tenets on which they are unable to form any opinion of their own, let alone establish their possible validity on rational grounds. There is no equivalent of the *Kālāma Sutta* in the Jain Canon. There are, of course, also philosophical developments in later Jain thought, but these do not seem ever to have reached the stage of genuine creativity in the activity of philosophising which would fire the imagination of followers, the general public or scholars at large. Syncretism and eclecticism seem to have been the prevalent tenor of Jain writings, and so Buddhism has stolen the show both in widespread international following and modern scholarly interest.

Still, these are not sufficient reasons for the neglect Jainism has so far suffered at the hands of academics and for the rather low degree of knowledge about it that generally prevails even among people with genuine interest in comparative religion. This book will not do much to remedy the situation. So let us hope that somebody will take up the challenge and present us with an updated and competent study of this ancient tradition and teaching and its role in the development of Indian religious thought, as well as its contemporary place in the mosaic of world religions.

Karel Werner
(Spalding Lecturer in Indian
Philosophy and Religion,
University of Durham)